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THE HISTORY OF PARAGUAY

CONTAINING

Amongst many other New, Curious, and Interesting Particulars of that Country,

A FULL AND AUTHENTIC ACCOUNT OF THE ESTABLISHMENTS

FORMED THERE BY THE JESUITS

FROM AMONG

THE SAVAGE NATIVES,

In the very Centre of Barbarism:

Establishments allowed to have realized the Sublime Ideas of

FENELON, Sir THOMAS MORE, and PLATO.

Written originally in French, by the celebrated Father CHARLEVOIX.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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THE

THE HISTORY OF PARAGUAY.

BOOK I.

General description of Paraguay. It is first discovered by the Spaniards, who build on the river of that name the cities of Buenos Ayres and the Assumption. The celebrated Don Alvarez Nunez de Vera Cabeca de Vaca arrives at the latter in quality of Governor and Lieutenant-General of the Province.

THE new world had not been long discovered, when people began to dispute, if Europe was likely to reap, from that event, all the advantages that were at first expected. This question was soon followed by another, concerning the right of conquest, in virtue of which, several Powers of Europe had taken upon them to reduce and bring under obedience, nations, that, for so many ages, had either lived without masters, or under the government of sovereigns, the validity of whose title no one contested. A third question must naturally occur to those, who know any thing of the history of this great hemisphere since its discovery; and that is, whether, exclusive of religion, the inhabitants have been great gainers or losers by their acquaintance with us. I must not

 pretend

pretend to decide on the occaſion: my chief view, in writing this Hiſtory, is to enable thoſe, that may peruſe it, to judge for themſelves, if the Europeans have always treated the Americans in the beſt manner to make uſeful eſtabliſhments among them; benefit of the treaſures they ſet ſo little value upon; increaſe their happineſs, and oblige them to bleſs the day, that had brought them acquainted with the light of the Goſpel.

I AM well aware of the prejudices that ſo generally prevail, in regard to the ſubject I am about to handle. I know that miſtaken notions, concerning the empire and riches of the Jeſuits of Paraguay, have gained even upon thoſe, who expreſs the greateſt eſteem for the ſociety, ſince ſome perſons merely through concern for its honour, have endeavoured to divert me from this undertaking. But conſidering the number and authenticity of the proofs I had to offer in his vindication, I judged this prevention of it's friends was another reaſon for my not going back; and I hope the world will approve my perſeverance. What pleaſure, in fact, muſt not a reader enjoy, one, I mean, who loves and ſincerely deſires to diſcover truth, in ſeeing it burſt forth through clouds, with which malice had endeavoured to involve it! I am even perſuaded, that numbers will be ſurprized at the ſociety's having ſo long neglected to open the eyes of thoſe, who can have no intereſt in being miſtaken, concerning a point, which is far from being ſo indifferent as ſome perſons may be apt to imagine; and I think it my duty to inform the publick, that I at firſt ſet about this Hiſtory, merely to comply with the deſires of a Prince,* who judged it requiſite for the honour of religion, of which he has been, to the hour of his death, one of the greateſt ornaments.

* The late Duke of Orleans, who died the fourth of February, 1752.

BESIDES,

Besides, this Hiſtory ſeemed to contain every thing that can either pleaſe or inſtruct, by the variety and importance of it's materials, and eſpecially the beauty and novelty of the eſtabliſhments, that form one of it's principal objects. I mean thoſe Chriſtian republicks, of which no models had as yet appeared in the world; republicks, founded in the center of the moſt ſavage barbariſm, upon a plan more perfect than thoſe imagined by Plato, Bacon, and the illuſtrious author of Telemachus, and by men, who employed in founding them no other cement, but their ſweat and their blood; who, from no other motives but God's glory and the welfare of mankind, and with no other weapons but the Goſpel, have braved the fury of the moſt intractable ſavages, whom the arms of the Spaniards, had only ſerved to irritate; have thoroughly civilized them, and converted them into Chriſtians, whoſe virtues for one hundred and fifty years paſt have been the admiration of all thoſe that have taken the neareſt view of them; and who, in fine, become Apoſtles almoſt as ſoon as Chriſtians, make as many ſpiritual conqueſts as their paſtors; and when their zeal is not attended with ſucceſs, look upon martyrdom as an ample reward for all their labours; nor is this all, for theſe ſpiritual labourers, zealous for the glory of their ſovereign and the intereſt of their countrymen, have brought their new converts to yield to the crown of Spain, an homage, the ſincerity of which may be ſo much the more depended upon, as it was quite voluntary, as their loyalty beſides has more than once weathered with honour the ſevereſt trials; and as, by paying the moſt ready obedience to the orders of their ſovereign, and ſacrificing to his ſervice their lives and their properties, with unexampled alacrity, they have given the moſt ſatisfactory proofs, that in ſo doing they are perſuaded they ſerve God himſelf, and from him alone expect their reward.

When all theſe facts have been well proved by the uniform teſtimony of perſons, who had the beſt opportunity of ſifting into the truth of them, and the greateſt intereſt in not ſuffering themſelves to be impoſed upon, the world, no doubt, will be greatly ſurpriſed to find, that eſtabliſhments ſo glorious to religion, and ſo uſeful to the ſtate, have required to protect and preſerve them, all the authority the kings of Spain could exert; that even perſons, who were bound by all manner of ties to favour theſe eſtabliſhments, have omitted nothing to diſguſt thoſe who undertook to form them, and make their labours miſcarry; and that they have been often ruined by men calling themſelves Chriſtians, who, through ſordid and ſelf-intereſted views have butchered or worried to death, by the moſt cruel ſlavery, upwards of one hundred thouſand Neophytes. But it was the work of God, and the fitteſt to diſplay his wiſdom and his power. Thoſe, whom he has been pleaſed to employ as his inſtruments, in ſo glorious an enterpriſe, might well expect that Hell would leave no ſtone unturned to make it miſcarry; and experience has but too well proved the juſtneſs of their apprehenſions.

For, not to ſpeak of the immenſe labours and dangers of every kind inevitably attending this new ſpecies of Apoſtleſhip, where they had all the elements to contend with, and unhoſpitable countries to run over, whoſe inhabitants far exceeded in ſavageneſs the wild beaſts with which they abounded, what pen can relate what they had to ſuffer, even from the domeſtics of that faith they were labouring to propagate? Continually oppoſed, loaded with calumny in every part of the known world, driven with violence and infamy from their houſes, accuſed at every tribunal as malefactors and traitors; they have often ſeen the moſt promiſing fruits of all their labours deſtroyed, but theſe diſappointments

and persecutions, instead of damping their courage, served rather to inspire them with new ardour, and increase their constancy to such a degree, that, by means of it, they have at last overcome all the obstacles that were thrown in their way. But before I enter upon the relation of so many various and unexpected events, it is proper I should give a general idea of the country, that has been the scene of them, and which, though so much the subject of conversation, very few persons are acquainted with: I shall be more particular in my descriptions and observations as occasion offers.

THE word PARAGUAY is the name of a river, which issues from the lake of the Xarayes, in about sixteen degrees thirteen minutes of south latitude, and twenty-three degrees of longitude. reckoning, as the Spaniards do, from the Azore Islands, and after running a good way to the south west, turns to the south. This word signifies, in the language of some of the neighbouring nations, Crowned River, as if the lake from which it springs, formed a crown about it's head. Don Martin del Barco, Archdeacon of Buenos Ayres, in a Spanish historical poem, entitled Argentina, pretends that the lake of the Xarayes is by no means the source of the Paraguay, which he says some Persons, after crossing this lake, had ascended a great deal higher, without finding its origin. He adds, that some affirm it flows from the lake Parime, in the province del Dorado, whose existence a modern author * does not deem as fabulous, as it is generally believed to be; and this opinion perhaps may be supported by a fact, which another author relates †, though without taking upon him to answer for the certainty of it,

* Father Joseph Gumilla, in his Orenoco illustrated: or, Natural, Civil, and Geographical History of that River, &c.

† Father Peter Locano, in his Chorographical Description of Great Chaco.

A Spaniard, says he, called John Garcia, native of the city of the Assumption, capital of the province of Paraguay, after many years slavery among the Indians, called Payaguas, had the good fortune to recover his liberty, towards the beginning of the present century*; and on his return home related, that in a journey he had made with these Indians, they arrived, after remounting the Paraguay and traversing the lake of Xarayes, at the mouth of a river, that falls into this lake; and that after ascending this last river for some days, they arrived opposite to a mountain under which it runs; that the Payaguas, before they ventured into this dark channel, light up flambeaux, of a kind of rosin, to prevent their being molested by bats of an enormous size, which they call Andiras, and which fall upon passengers, who neglect to take this precaution against them; that after pushing through the mountain, which cost them two days, they continued their journey for some time longer up the river, 'till they at last arrived at the entrance of another lake, whose opposite banks they could not discover; and then returned the same way they had advanced.

Whatever credit this relation may deserve, the Paraguay, after receiving many smaller rivers, though some in themselves pretty considerable, between it's issue from the lake of the Xarayes and the twenty-seventh degree of south latitude, is there joined by another, called Parana, which signifies Sea, on account of it's breadth. This river, after running a great way in a direction nearly parallel to that of the Paraguay, takes a turn, and falls into it by a north-east course. The Paraguay, deeper and narrower after this accession, flows directly southwards to the latitude of thirty-four degrees, where it is reinforced by another great river, called the Uruguay, that flows into it from the north-east; it then runs east north-

* The eighteenth.

north-east to the thirty-fifth degree of latitude, where it falls into the sea by the name of Rio de la Plata. This name even is very often given to the Paraguay, from the Parana's junction with it quite down to it's mouth; nor had the whole course of the Paraguay, any other name, as long as all the country, through which it runs, made but one province. But if merely by the force of custom, for which it is often very difficult to account, the Paraguay has lost, not only it's own name, in consequence of it's waters mixing with those of the Parana, but even that of Silver River, by which it was known above this junction, through a mistake I shall presently take notice of, it has been amply indemnified by another custom, equally unaccountable, of comprehending, under the name of Paraguay, that immense tract of land, which has no bounds but the lake of the Xarayes, the province of Sancta Cruz della Sierra, and that of Charcas, where even the Jesuits of Paraguay have a college and a great mission,* to the north; the streights of Magellan to the south; Brazil to the east; Chili and Peru to the west.

THIS vast country, besides Chaco, which is as it were the center of it, though not as yet reduced, contains the lake of the Xarayes, the provinces of Santa Cruz and las Charcas, with Tucuman to the west; all the course of the Parana and the Rio de la Plata to the east; and to the south all the rest of the continent as far as the streights of Magellan, where the Jesuits have of late begun to found some missions. It is pretty evident, that in so great an extent of land, watered by an infinite number of rivers, covered with immense forests, intersected by long chains of mountains, most of them very high, and some even reaching to the clouds; where all the low-lands are subject to inundations, for extent and

* The college of Tarija, in the province of las Charcas, and the missions of the Chiquites in that of Santa Cruz de la Sierra

and duration ſuperior to thoſe of any other country we are acquainted with; where there are every where great numbers of lakes and marſhes, whoſe putrefied waters cannot but greatly infect the air; where the lands, in fine, that have been cleared and cultivated, are nothing in compariſon to thoſe, that ſtill remain in a ſtate of nature; it is pretty evident, I ſay, that in ſuch a vaſt country, there muſt be a great variety in the temperature of it's air, as well as in the manners and character of its inhabitants.

To SPEAK in general of the people, we may affirm that they are more or leſs of an olive complexion; that they are commonly rather below than above the middling ſtature, though it is no uncommon thing to find among them perſons of the higheſt; that moſt of them are pretty thick legged and jointed, and round and ſomewhat flat faced; that almoſt all the men, and even the children, eſpecially in the warmer climates, go quite naked; and the women wear no more covering, than the moſt relaxed modeſty ſeems abſolutely to require; that thoſe of every nation have their own particular manner of adoring or rather disfiguring themſelves, ſometimes to ſuch a degree, as to make the moſt hideous appearance; that there are ſome however, who occaſionally wear caps and other ornaments made of the moſt beautiful feathers; that almoſt all of them are naturally dull, cruel, and inconſtant; treacherous, and exceſſively voracious, and cannibals, given to drunkenneſs, void of foreſight or precaution, even in the moſt indiſpenſible concerns of life, lazy and indolent beyond the power of expreſſion; that except a few, whom the love of plunder or revenge has rendered furious rather than brave, moſt of them are arrant cowards, and that thoſe, who have preſerved their liberty, are entirely indebted for it to the ſituation of the inacceſſible places, where they have taken refuge.

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THE first Spaniards who entered Paraguay, made not the least doubt of their finding great treasures in it. They thought it impossible, that a country so near Peru should not contain a great many mines of gold and silver; and though it was not long before the mistake, upon which this false notion was founded, and of which I shall speak hereafter, came to be discovered, the world, for more than a century, continued to speak of Paraguay, as a country abounding in mines. This we may infer from the title of Argentina, which Don Martin del Barco gave his poem, as if the whole country was but one great mine of silver. But I shall here insert what Don Pedro Estevan Davilla, governor of Rio de la Plata, wrote to his Catholic majesty concerning it in 1637*. "The sanguine hopes which people entertain of "being able to make great fortunes in these pro- "vinces †, are particularly founded upon the belief "of their containing metals and other precious arti- "cles. Of this I have already sent your majesty the "most ample informations, with a list of some authen- "tic papers concerning them; and I know for cer- "tain, that these papers have been deposited among "the archives of the royal council of the Indies. "People had some confused notions of these treasures, "so early as the government of Don Ruiz Diaz Mel- "garejo, who founded the city of Villarica; but after "many endeavours to obtain a more distinct account "of them, it appeared that what had already been re- "lated of them, was too uncertain to be depended "upon. The last person who undertook to discover "the mines, was Manuel de Frias, son-in-law of Don "Ruiz, and first governor of Paraguay, when this "country was divided into two governments. He "so

* Father Anthony Ruiz de Montoya, in his Spiritual Conquest, &c. fol. 48.

† The province of Guayra was that which they chiefly had their eye to.

"so little doubted of success, that he entered into "an agreement with your majesty on the occasion; "and I have been informed by persons of credit, "that he did every thing that lay in his power to "fulfil his engagements; but that all his researches "proved fruitless. I have already sent your majesty "all the written informations concerning his enquiries, and I know for certain they are to be "found among the archives of the royal council of the Indies. I have two reasons for believing "that these papers deserve no credit. In the first "place, the governors I have mentioned omitted "nothing to discover these mines; secondly, all the "witnesses that had affirmed upon oath the credibility of their existence, were persons prejudiced against the company of Jesus, and besides, wanted "the necessary qualifications to draw up informations, fit to be laid before your majesty."

It is true indeed, that people for a long time thought they could discern some indication of gold mines, in the neighbourhood of a town which the Spaniards built under the name of Xeres, pretty near the Paraguay, on the road from thence to Brazil, and the Portuguese afterwards destroyed; but these delusive appearances vanished at last, and the inhabitants of Xeres were always wretchedly poor. This was likewise the case with those of Villarica, whose founders were too hasty in decorating it with so pompous a title; and whose inhabitants, continually annoyed by the Portuguese, found themselves at last under a necessity of removing nearer to the Paraguay, where they built a new town under the same name with that they had deserted, and with as little reason *. It has however thriven the better for it's inhabitants not depending any longer on imaginary mines, which hindered them from taking for their subsistence surer and more consistent measures.

* It is now commonly called la Villa.

PEARLS were found for some time in a little lake at a small distance from the spot, where the city of Santa-Fe originally stood; and the author of the Argentina speaks of them with his usual emphasis; in spite of which, however, they were soon forgot. At last, a Spaniard, who had been taken in his infancy by the Abipones, observing on his return home, that the women were very fond of such things, related that the Indians, among whom he had lived, very often found them in their nets, when fishing in the above lake, but threw them back into the water as things of no value; and upon this, proper persons were dispatched to examine, on the spot, the truth of his report, which they found to be exact. It is very probable however, that either the fishery was not abundant, or the pearls not clear enough to quit cost; for I could never discover that they made any part of the commerce of Buenos Ayres, or enriched the inhabitants of Santa-Fe.

I HAVE seen a manuscript, that I think may be depended upon, which affirms that in the city of the Assumption, capital of the province of Paraguay, the ladies adorn themselves with jewels, which are pretty common in that country. But the author does not inform us, what kind of jewels they are *; and I have not been able to discover any more concerning them in any other writer. Father Anthony Sepp, a German jesuit, who spent many years in the missions of Paraguay, and has left us some letters in his native tongue, that have been since translated into Latin, made likewise a discovery, which, if what he found had been more common, might have been very useful in this part of America. Happening one day to take notice of a very hard stone, which the Indians call Itacana, because it is full of little black spots; he

* Joyas, que no ay poco en el Paraguay, y las mugeres se hazen y adornan, como en otra qualquies Ciudad.

he found, on throwing it into a very fierce fire, that these spots were very good iron; but these stones are very scarce. Mines of this useful metal have been discovered in other parts of the country, but so poor, that the inhabitants are obliged to procure from other places almost all the iron they make use of.

In the vast plains, which extend from Buenos Ayres to Chili, and a great way to the south, some horses and horned cattle, that the Spaniards left behind them in the fields, on their evacuating that town a little after it's foundation, multiplied to such a degree, that, so early as the year 1628, a very good horse might be purchased for two needles, and an ox in proportion. Now indeed, these creatures are only to be found in pretty distant places. It is however but thirty years ago, that no ship left Buenos Ayres without forty or fifty thousand ox hides, and that number is not to be obtained without killing at least eighty thousand beasts, as no skins, but such as are statutable, or the skins of bulls, and of a certain measure, are allowable in trade. There are besides huntsmen, who, of all the oxen they kill, carry off nothing but the tongues and the tallow, which in this country serves for butter, lard, and oil.

But this, after all, is not sufficient to give a just idea of the multiplication of these useful animals in Paraguay; for the dogs, of which great numbers are likewise turned wild, the tygers and the lions, destroy more of them than can be well imagined. It is even said, that the lions don't wait as the tygers do 'till hunger pinches them, to hunt down the oxen, but often attack them merely for the sake of diversion; and that they have been seen to kill ten or twelve at a time, and touch but one. The dogs however are the greatest enemies of these animals. It is now more than twenty years, since the price of

tallow

tallow and hides rose seventy per cent. at Buenos Ayres; and if ever this wild breed of horned cattle becomes extinct in the country, it must chiefly be attributed to the constant war the dogs make upon them, and which they will as certainly continue against the inhabitants, when they can find no more beasts to prey upon. But what is most surprizing, there is no opening the eyes of the common people of Buenos Ayres on this occasion; for a governor of the province having once sent some soldiers on an expedition against these troublesome animals, the poor men met with no other welcome at their return but shouts of derision and contempt, joined to the title of dog-killers, for which reason not one of them could ever since be prevailed upon to go upon the same errand.

THE manner in which they hunt the horned cattle, and for which they have no other name but that of Matanca, or Butchery, is pretty singular. A number of huntsmen gather together, and repair on horseback to some great plain, entirely covered with these animals. They then separate, and with a kind of hatchet, whose edge resembles a crescent, lay about them with all their might, aiming at the hind legs of the animals in order to hamstring them: for this once effected, the animal falls to the ground without being able to rise again, so that the huntsmen may continue their game, 'till of many hundreds they have not left a single beast standing; and some people pretend, that a good hand will in this manner disable eight hundred oxen in an hour; but this account appears rather exaggerated. In the consternation, which at first seizes these animals, they crowd together in such confusion as to impede each other's flight, and thereby afford the huntsmen an opportunity of taking from time to time a little rest and refreshment. At last, after some days spent in this violent exercise, they return the same way they came,

came, find their oxen where they left them, dispatch them at their leisure, and carry off as much of them as they can.

We may well imagine, that the great number of carcasses these huntsmen leave behind them, would, if permitted to rot, cause an infection in the air, which might be attended with very disagreeable consequences; but clouds of Vultures, * as large as eagles, and other birds of prey, soon fall upon them, so that in a few days nothing remains but the bare bones. The horses are taken with nooses, and as they are born and bred wild, and of Spanish origin, are very handsome and swift-footed. The Indians, however, who are also very nimble, contrive to turn them towards places where they know they must meet with obstacles to stop their flight; and as soon as they get within reach of them, cast nooses about their legs, leap upon them without any further ceremony, and have soon tamed them. There are a great many mules in Paraguay, and they must be very useful in a country where there are few beaten roads, a great deal of up-and-down hill, and here and there a great many bad steps.

But the greatest riches of both the Spaniards and the Indians of this province, those Indians especially whom the jesuits have formed into towns or villages, formerly consisted, and in regard to many of them still consist, in the Herb of Paraguay. It is said, that the sale of this vegetable was at first so considerable, and enriched so many persons, that those, who before were reduced to the bare necessaries of life, soon saw themselves in possession of ample fortunes. But as luxury, like fire, is always upon the increase, and not to be stopt as long as it finds materials to feed upon, the Spaniards, to support it, were obliged to have recourse to the Indians,

* The people of the country call them Gondors.

Indians who had voluntarily submitted to them, or had been reduced by the superior force of arms; at first they made servants of them, but soon after began to consider them as slaves. And as they had no mercy for these unhappy creatures, many of them perished under a species of drudgery they were not accustomed to, and the bad usage with which their cruel task-masters punished their waste of strength, rather than their want of will; others made their escape, and became most irreconcileable enemies to the Spaniards, many of whom by this means sunk back into their former indigence, without learning thereby to become more laborious. Luxury had multiplied their wants, so that the herb of Paraguay alone was no longer sufficient to content them, as it formerly used to do; and though it were, many were too poor to purchase any, as the extraordinary consumption of it had considerably enhanced it's value.

THIS herb, so famous in South-America and Spain, is but very little known in France. Though called an herb, it is the leaf of a tree of the size of a middling apple-tree. In taste it greatly resembles that of mallows, and in figure, when full grown, that of the orange-tree. It has likewise some resemblance to the Coca of Peru, but is more esteemed, even in Peru, where it is sent in great quantities, especially into the mountains, and wherever there is any mining going forward, the Peruvian Spaniards finding it the more necessary, as the use of wine in their country is attended with very bad consequences. It is sent there well dried, and in a manner reduced to powder; but in preparing it, they don't permit it to remain long in the water, as it would then give an infusion as black as ink. They distinguish two species of it, though both are but one and the same leaf. The first is called Caa, or Caamini; and the second Caacuys, or Yerva de Palos; but Father

Father del Techo pretends, that its generical name is Caa, and diſtinguiſhes three different ſpecies of it, under the names of Caacuys, Caamini, and Caaguazu.

According to this author, who ſpent great part of his life in Paraguay, the Caacuys is the firſt bud that has ſcarce begun to open it's leaves; the Caamini is the full-grown leaf, ſtript of it's ribs before roaſting; and the Caaguazu, or Palos, that roaſted without any ſuch preparation. The roaſted leaves are kept in holes made under-ground, and lined with cow-ſkins. The Caacuys will not bear tranſportation, nor does it keep as long as the two other kinds, which are ſent in great quantities to Tucuman, Peru, and Spain. It is even certain, that this herb has on the ſpot where it grows, a bitterneſs, that conſiderably increaſes both it's price and it's virtues, and is not to be perceived any where elſe. To prepare the Caacuys, they throw into boiling water the leaf pulverized and afterwards reduced into a paſte. As faſt as this paſte diſſolves, whatever earth might have remained in it, flies to the top of the water, and is ſkimmed off. The water is then ſtrained through a cloth, and after being left to ſettle a little, is ſucked up through a pipe. They very ſeldom put any ſugar into it, but only a little lemon juice, or certain very ſweet ſcented paſtils. When taken by way of vomit, it is made weaker, and permitted to grow luke-warm.

The chief manufacture of this herb is at la Villa, or the New Villarica, which lies near the mountains of Maracayu, ſituated to the eaſt of the Paraguay in about twenty-five degrees twenty-five minutes ſouth latitude, this being the diſtrict of the whole country, in which the Caa-tree thrives beſt; but it does not grow on the mountains, but in the marſhy bottoms between them. They ſometimes ſend to Peru alone, no leſs than one hundred thouſand arobes, each

each of twenty-five pounds of ſixteen ounces,* and the arrobe is worth ſeven crowns of our money. † The Caacuys, however, has no fixed price, and the Caamini ſells for twice as much as the Palos. The Indians eſtabliſhed in the diſtricts of Uruguay and Parana, under the conduct of the Jeſuits, have planted ſome ſeeds of this tree, which they brought with them from Maracayu, and the trees produced from theſe ſeeds have very little; if at all, degenerated. But the new Chriſtians make none of the firſt kind, keep the Caamini for their own uſe, and ſell the Palos to pay their tribute, and purchaſe other commodities they ſtand in need of. The Caa ſeeds reſemble thoſe of the ivy.

The Spaniards pretend, that they poſſeſs in this herb a remedy or, a preſervative againſt all their diſorders. We cannot, indeed, refuſe it the honour of being very opening and diuretic. It is ſaid, that ſome perſons having at firſt taken it to exceſs, it entirely deprived them of the uſe of their ſenſes for ſeveral days; but what is moſt ſurprizing in this herb is, that it often produces quite contrary effects; as that, for example, of purging and nouriſhing, of giving ſleep to the reſtleſs, and ſpirits to the drowzy. Thoſe, who have once contracted the habit of taking this herb, find it a very difficult matter to leave it off, or even uſe it but moderately, though, when taken to exceſs, it not only brings on drunkenneſs, but moſt of thoſe diſorders, with which the two free uſe of the ſtrongeſt liquors is attended.

Almost every foreſt of this country abounds with bees, which make their hives in the hollows of trees. There are here ten different ſpecies of theſe uſeful inſects. That moſt eſteemed for the whiteneſs of its wax, and the delicacy of its honey, is

* The arrobe is equal to 28 pounds Avoirdupois.

† The French crown is worth 4*s.* 6*d.* ſterling.

is called Opemus, but it is very ſcarce. The Cotton tree is a native of the country, and grows in thickets, like what I ſaw in Louiſiana. It bears the very firſt year, but muſt be pruned like the vine. It flowers in December and January,* and its flower, which reſembles the yellow tulip, fades and withers away three days after blowing. The pod contained in the flower is quite ripe in February, and yields a wool, which is not only very white, but very good in every other reſpect. The Indians I ſpoke of, began to ſow hemp-ſeed; but having found it a troubleſome taſk to prepare it for ſpinning, moſt of them abandoned the enterprize. The Spaniards have, on this occaſion, ſhewed more conſtancy than the Indians, and make uſe of hemp in pretty large quantities.

Besides maiz, manioc, and potatoes, which thrive very well in ſeveral places, and in which the food of thoſe Indians, who cultivated the earth, chiefly conſiſted, there are in this country many fruits and ſimples, not known in Europe: I ſhall name and deſcribe ſome of them, as occaſion offers. There are ſome fruits in particular, of which the Spaniards make excellent ſweet-meats. Some have planted vines here, which don't thrive equally in every diſtrict; but a great deal of wine is made at Rioja and Corduba, two towns of Tucuman. That of Corduba is greaſy, ſtrong and heady. That of Rioja has none of theſe faults; but at Mendoza, a town in the government of Chili, and ſituated in the Cordilliera, at about twenty-five leagues from Corduba, they make a wine very little inferior to that of Spain. Wheat has been ſown in ſome places; but it is ſeldom made uſe of but for cakes and other things of that kind. There are every-where venomous herbs, with which ſome Indians poiſon their arrows;

* It is proper the reader ſhould attend to the great difference between the ſeaſons in Paraguay and Europe, occaſioned by their lying at different ſides of the Equinoctial Line.

rows; but the antidotes are equally common; and among others the herb called *ſparrow's-herb*, which forms pretty large buſhes, and was diſcovered and obtained its name, in the following manner.

AMONG the different kinds of ſparrows found in theſe provinces, moſt of which are of the ſize of our black-birds, there is a very pretty one, called *macagua*. This little creature is very fond of the fleſh of vipers, againſt whom, for this reaſon, he wages a continual war. As ſoon therefore as he ſpies one of theſe reptiles, he whips his head under his wing, and gathers himſelf up into a round ball, without the leaſt appearance of life or motion; he does not however cover his eyes ſo entirely, but what he may peep thro' the feathers of his wing, and obſerve the motions of his game, which he ſuffers to approach without ſtirring, 'till he finds it near enough to receive a ſtroke of his bill, which he then ſuddenly diſcharges at it. The viper immediately returns the compliment with another of his tongue; but the minute the ſparrow finds himſelf wounded, he flies to his herb, eats ſome of it, and is inſtantly cured. He then returns to the charge, and has recourſe to his herb every time the viper ſtings him. This conflict laſts till the viper, deſtitute of the ſame reſource,* has loſt all his blood As ſoon as the reptile is dead, the ſparrow falls to work upon the carcaſs, and concludes the feaſt with a new doſe of his antidote.

THERE are few countries which breed ſo great a number, and ſo many different ſpecies of ſerpents, and ſuch other reptiles; but there are a great many of them no way poiſonous, or whoſe poiſon is no way dangerous. The Indians know theſe innocent tho' frightful reptiles, take them up alive in their hands, and make girdles of them, without any bad conſequence. There are ſome of theſe creatures twenty-

 two

* By this one would imagine this ſparrow-herb acts both as a ſtyptic, and an antidote.

two feet long, and proportionably thick, that ſwallow whole ſtags, if we may believe ſome Spaniards, who aſſure us they have been eye-witneſſes to their feats this way. The Indians ſay, that theſe monſters engender at the mouth, and that the young ones tear their way into the world thro' the ſides of their mothers, after which the ſtrongeſt devour the weakeſt. And were it not for this diſpoſition of Providence, father Anthony Ruiz de Montoya, who ſeems to credit this account, obſerves, that it would be impoſſible to ſtir out of doors without meeting with theſe terrible animals. Among thoſe who are oviparous, there are ſome that lay very large eggs, and make uſe of incubation to hatch them.

The rattle-ſnake ſo common in ſeveral provinces of North-America, is no where perhaps more ſo than in Paraguay. It has been obſerved in this country, that this reptile ſuffers greatly when its gums are too much diſtended with venom; and that, to get rid of this venom, it falls upon every thing in its way, with two crooked fangs, pretty large at their root, but terminating in a point, and by means of a hollow in theſe fangs, pours into the wound it makes all the humour that tormented it. The effects of the bite of this, and many other ſpecies of ſerpents and ſnakes, are very ſudden: ſometimes the blood iſſues violently at the eyes, noſe, ears, gums, and roots of the nails; but there are antidotes to be found every-where againſt this poiſon. The moſt ſucceſsful are a ſtone, to which they have given the name of *St. Paul*, bezoard, and a poultice of chewed garlick. The very head of the animal, and its liver, which is likewiſe eaten to purify the blood, are equally efficacious: the ſureſt method, however, is to begin by making an inciſion directly in the part that has been ſtung, and then apply brimſtone to it. Nay, this drug alone has been often found to make a perfect cure.

THERE

There are here likewiſe ſome hunting ſerpents, which climb up the trees to diſcover their prey, and from thence dart upon it when within reach, ſqueeze it ſo tight, that it cannot ſtir, and then devour it alive at their leiſure. But when they have eat up whole carcaſſes, they become ſo heavy as not to be able to move, and, as they ſometimes have not a ſufficient degree of natural heat to digeſt ſuch enormous meals, would inevitably become the victims of their own voracity, did not nature ſuggeſt to them a remedy, which reaſon certainly would never permit them to employ. On this occaſion the monſter turns up his belly to the ſun, whoſe heat makes it putrify; the worms then breed in it, and the birds, coming to their aſſiſtance, feed upon a ſuperfluity, which otherwiſe would moſt certainly kill him: the patient takes care not to let the birds go too great lengths, and in a ſhort time, after this extraordinary operation, finds himſelf as well as ever. But it often happens, they ſay, that the ſkin of the ſerpent cloſes upon the branches of trees upon which he has been in too great haſte to ſtation himſelf; this is a ſcrape, out of which he muſt find it a much more difficult matter to extricate himſelf than the former.

Many of theſe reptiles live upon fiſh; and father Montoya, from whom I have taken almoſt all theſe particulars, informs us, that he one day happened to ſpy a huge ſnake whoſe head was as big as a calf's, fiſhing on the banks of a river: the firſt thing the monſter did, was to diſcharge by it's mouth a great quantity of foam into the river; he then truſt his head into the water, and kept it very quiet, 'till a great many ſmall fiſhes, attracted by the foam, had gathered about it; when ſuddenly opening his jaws, he laid about him, and ſwallowed in great numbers all thoſe that were unhappy enough to lie within his reach. Another time, the ſame author aſſures us, he ſaw an Indian of the talleſt ſtature, who happened to

be fishing up to his middle in water, swallowed alive by a huge snake, which the next day vomited his prey ashore quite whole, all to the bones which were smashed to pieces, as if they had been bruised between two mill-stones.

THIS monstrous species of reptiles never quit the water; and in the rapids, which are pretty common in the Parana, they are often seen swimming with a huge tail, and their head, which is likewise very large, above water. The Indians say, that they engender in the same manner with land-animals, and that the males often attack women, as it is pretended monkeys do in some countries. One thing however is certain, and that is, that father Montoya was one day called upon to hear the confession of an Indian woman, whom, while she was washing some linen on the banks of a river, one of these animals attacked, and, as she said, offered violence to her: the missionary found her stretched on the very spot, where she said the thing had happened; she told him she was sure she had but a few minutes to live, and in fact expired, almost as soon as she had finish'd her confession.

THE rivers and great lakes, which never dry up, are full of caymans or crocodiles, from ten to twelve feet long. There are a prodigious number of them, particularly in the Pilco Mayo, the greatest river in Chaco, where they are called *yacaras*. When these monsters have made a hearty meal of fish, they come on shore and lie on their backs, that the heat of the sun may help them to digest it. Tho' their scales are very hard and thick set, the Spaniards find means to kill them with their fire-arms, but the Indians have a pretty singular method of taking them in the water. They make fast one end of a rope to a tree, and to the other end of the rope tie a stick pointed at both ends; then, as soon as they espy a cayman, they throw they stick into his mouth, which is always open; but as the animal has no tongue, or its tongue

is exceedingly ſmall, the ſtick, by diſtending his throat, makes way for a great deal of water, and the more the cayman endeavours to get rid of it, the deeper it enters, ſo that he is ſoon ſuffocated; the Indians then pull him aſhore, by means of the rope to which the ſtick is faſtened.

The cayman has under the paws of his fore-feet bags full of a ſubſtance, whoſe ſcent is ſo very ſtrong, that it immediately aſcends to the brain; but when dried in the ſun, it becomes mild like muſk. The female, they pretend, lays upwards of twenty eggs at a time, but the male breaks a great many of them with his claws; and as ſhe buries them in the ſand, the rivers, when they overflow, ſweep away great part of what remain. It is ſaid, that when the teeth of this animal are grown foul with the fiſh he has devoured, a little ſparrow comes to clean them; but that another very often, as ſoon as he ſees the monſter prepare for this operation by diſtending his jaws, immediately ruſhes into his ſtomach, in order to prey upon his entrails. Allowing the fact to be true, how does this little invader get out again? Herrera pretends, that the caymans of Rio de la Plata don't attack men; I have however heard the contrary from travellers, who related, as eye-witneſſes, ſeveral tragical hiſtories in ſupport of their aſſertions. Perhaps tho' they might have miſtaken ſharks for caymans, for it is certain that this great river ſwarms with ſharks much larger than thoſe of other rivers; and that they lie in wait for the oxen that come to drink its waters, ſeize them by the muzzle, and ſtifle them.

In ſome parts of this country, there are *cameleons* from five to ſix feet long, that carry their young ones about with them, and always keep their mouths open on that ſide form whence the wind blows. They are a very mild but very ſtupid animal. The *monkeys* here are in ſize almoſt equal to the human ſpecies,

have great beads, and very long tails. They ſcream in a frightful manner when wounded by an arrow, pluck it out, and hurl it back at the aggreſſor. *Foxes* are very common in ſome provinces: there are ſome near Buenos Ayres, which greatly reſemble hares, and whoſe fur is very fine, and beautifully variegated. Nothing can be prettier than this animal, which is beſides of ſo friendly a nature, that he comes out of the woods to fawn upon travellers; but it is proper to be on one's guard againſt him, for when you think leaſt of it, he diſcharges his urine, the ſtench of which is not to be equalled, and which is beſides of ſo penetrating a quality, that no ſcowring can get it out of any thing it falls upon, ſo that whatever has been once infected by it, it is fit for nothing but the fire. There are two ſpecies of *tatares*, or rackoons; one ſpecies are as tall as a pig of ſix months, have in the belly a kind of nacre or ſhell, and another in the region of the kidneys. The two fore-paws ſerve it for hands, and every paw has five fingers. There are likewiſe two ſpecies of *rabbets*, which the Spaniards call *apercos*; they have little or no tail, ſilver-grey hair, and their fleſh is very delicate eating. Another kind of rabbit has ſo ſmall a mouth, that a piſmire can ſcarce enter it.

Lions and tygers are every where common, ſince the horned cattle, Spaniſh horſes, and hogs have multiplied to ſuch a degree. The lions are much ſmaller and leſs fierce by a great deal than thoſe of Africa, but the tygers are no where larger or more furious. The Indians, however, have diſcovered a certain method of driving away theſe animals. As they are very light and nimble, the minute they ſpy one making towards them, if they have no arms to defend themſelves, they hurry up into a tree; the animal, unable to purſue his prey, ſurveys him with greedy eyes from the bottom of his aſylum, and would there remain, it is probable, long enough, to

oblige

oblige him to ſurrender at diſcretion, or let himſelf fall to the ground thro' weakneſs, had it not been happily diſcovered, that this animal cannot bear the ſmell of human urine; the Indian takes advantage of this diſcovery, and the tyger immediately flies to a ſufficient diſtance, to give him an opportunity of making his eſcape. Thoſe among the Indians, who make uſe of fire-arms, are ſtill leſs at a loſs on theſe occaſions, for their aim is ſo good, that they have often been ſeen to ſhoot tygers dead while making a ſpring at them.

THEY diſtinguiſh three kinds of *deer* in theſe provinces; ſome are almoſt as tall as an ox, and have very branchy horns; they are moſt commonly to be found in marſhy places. Others are larger than goats, and feed in the plains. The third ſpecies are ſcarce bigger than a kid of ſix months. There is little or no difference between the ſhamoys of Paraguay and ours. The *wild-boars* here have the navel, or perhaps a kind of vent, upon the back. Their fleſh is delicate, and ſo very wholeſom, that the ſick are permitted to make uſe of it. The plains of Chaco are covered with flocks of black, red, and white *goats*; but the white are to be met with no where but on the banks of the Pilco Mayo. Both deer and ſhamoys always feed in flocks, like the ſheep of Europe.

ANOTHER animal, pretty common in this part of America, is a kind of buffalo, called *anta*. It is of the ſize of an aſs, which it likewiſe greatly reſembles in ſhape, all to its having very ſhort ears. But what ſerves moſt to diſtinguiſh this animal, is a kind of trunk, which he extends and contracts at pleaſure, and by which, it is thought, he likewiſe breathes. Each of his feet has three nails, to which they aſcribe a ſovereign virtue againſt all manner of poiſons, eſpecially to thoſe of the left fore-foot, upon which he lies down as often as he find himſelf indiſpoſed.

indiſpoſed.* He makes uſe of his two fore-feet in the ſame manner with monkeys and beavers, and with equal facility. In his belly are found bezoard-ſtones, which are held in great eſteem. In the day-time he brouzes upon the graſs, and by night eats a kind of clay which he finds in the marſhes, where he retires at ſun-ſet. The fleſh of this animal is very wholeſom, and differs from beef in nothing but being more light and delicate. His ſkin is ſo ſtout, that when well dried, they pretend it is muſket-ſhot proof; for which reaſon the Spaniards, when they can get any, make ſkull-caps and cuiraſſes of it. They hunt the anta in the night-time, and it is an exerciſe attended with very little trouble. The huntſmen repair to theſe places where theſe animals generally aſſemble together at night-fall, and on their approach iſſue out to meet them with lighted torches, which ſo dazzle and ſtagger the poor creatures, that they tumble one over another to the ground. The huntſmen then fire upon them, and ſeldom miſs a ſhot; ſo that at the return of day, they are ſure to find great numbers of them dead or grievouſly wounded.

All kinds of volatiles ſwarm in almoſt every part of this country, and of geeſe alone they reckon in it ſix different ſpecies. The *ravens* here are white; the *ſparrows* of a gold colour; and the *patridges* as large as hens, and in ſuch plenty, eſpecially in the vaſt plains that lie between Buenos Ayres and Tucuman, that travellers take them, like fiſh, with a line, without being obliged to alight from their horſes or carriages. *Oſtriches* and *ſea-wolves* are likewiſe very common in ſome places. Among the fiſh found in the

* Memoires de Trevoux, October, 1751, page 2194. It is not ſaid that this animal is ſubject to the epilepſy, or that he cures himſelf when attacked by it, by rubbing his ear with his left hoof, as it is ſaid the original or elk of Canada does, whom the anta greatly reſembles in other reſpects.

the rivers and lakes, there is one which differs in nothing from a hog, but that it has no teeth; and a *water-dog* or *canis aquaticus*, which barks like the land-dogs of Europe. A miſſionary one day ſpyed one of theſe animals, on the banks of a river, where having been wounded with an arrow, he fell a barking with all his might, till ſeveral others immediately came to his aſſiſtance, and tranſported him to the oppoſite ſhore.

1516. SUCH is in general this great country, eſteemed by numbers of people one of the richeſt in the New World. It was firſt diſcovered in 1516, by John de Solis, great pilot of Caſtile, and that by mere accident. Solis had ſailed from Spain to continue the diſcovery of Brazil, begun in the year 1500, by Vincent Yannes Pinſon, who had accompanied Columbus in his firſt voyage, and two months before the Portugueſe had the leaſt knowledge of it. The firſt of January, 1516, he entered a port formed by the diſcharge of a river, which he called *Rio Genero*,* and took poſſeſſion of it for the Crown of Caſtile, as Pinſon had done ſixteen years before, at Cape St. Auguſtin, which he called the Cape of Conſolation. Solis then continued to range the coaſt, and on turning it to the right, found himſelf in a bay at the mouth of a great river, to which he gave his name; but he did not think proper to venture his veſſel a great way up it, as he found it to be full of rocks, ſhoals, and ſand banks; being loth however to return home without ſome knowledge of the river, he ſet out in his long-boat, and after ranging for ſome time the weſtern coaſt, diſcovered ſome Indians, who ſeemed to invite him aſhore, by laying at their feet every thing they had, and, as it were, to offer them to him.

DECEIVED

* That is to ſay, January River. The Portugueſe call it *Rio Janeyro*, which ſignifies the ſame thing in their language.

1516. DECEIVED by these ambiguous demonstrations, he landed without any precaution, and with very few men, tho' resolved, it is said, to carry off some of the natives, and bring them to Spain with him. He did not even consider, that, in proportion as he advanced, these barbarians retired towards a wood, where they at last buried themselves, and he followed them alone in a manner. But he had scarce entered it, when a volley of arrows, discharged by people he could not see, killed him and all his attendants. The Indians then made a great fire without the wood, and stripping the dead carcasses, roasted and eat them in sight of those who had remained in the boat, or had taken refuge in it, and who had now no other course to take but to return to Spain. Such was the miserable end of a man who passed for one of the ablest navigators of his time; but who, according to Herrera, was not endowed with all the prudence requisite to insure the success of an enterprise like that he was charged with.

1516-25. THE fate of some Portugueze, who a few years after penetrated into Paraguay by way of Brazil, was equally lamentable. On the reports, that now began to fill Europe, of the immense riches found by the Spaniards in Peru, Don Martin de Sosa, Governor and Captain-General of Brazil, resolved, if possible, to share their good fortune with them, and dispatched Alexis de Garcia, a man on whose courage, good sense, and fidelity, he could rely, on a journey over land to that distant country, in order to procure the intelligence requisite for putting his design in execution. Garcia took no company with him but his son, and three other Portugueze, with whom however he reached the Paraguay. Here he met a great number of Indians, and engaged, it is said, a thousand of them to follow him; he then crossed the river, and penetrated to the frontiers of Peru, where he pickt up some gold, and a

great

great deal of ſilver. On his return therefore to that part of the Paraguay, where the Indians had joined him, he formed a deſign of making a ſettlement there, for the uſe of ſuch of his countrymen as might be willing to take advantage of his diſcoveries; and with this view he ſent off two of his fellow-adventurers with diſpatches to the Governor of Brazil, ſome ingots of gold and ſilver, an account of his journey, and the plan he had formed, remaining himſelf among the Indians, with his ſon who was very young, and another Portugueze; but his meſſengers were ſcarce ſet out, when the Indians maſſacred him and his companion, made his ſon a ſlave, and took poſſeſſion of all his treaſure. Nor had about 60 Portugueze, and a very large party of Brazilians, who on the receipt of Garcia's letters ſet out to join him, under the command of George Sedenno, any better ſucceſs. The Indians on the road not only refuſed to aſſiſt them with proviſions, but did all that lay in their power to cut off their retreat, and accordingly fell upon them one day ſo unexpectedly from behind the woods, that after loſing their commander, and ſeveral men, they were obliged to fly precipitately towards the Parana, where to their great joy they met with ſome Indians who offered to ferry them over to the other ſide, beyond the reach of their purſuers. But the pirogues were ſcarce half way over, when their treacherous conductors, who could ſwim like fiſhes, leaped over-board, after opening ſome holes, which they had ſtopt ſo artfully that the Portugueze had not before perceived them; ſo that of theſe unhappy adventurers, not one man eſcaped to relate the misfortune of the reſt.

1525. One would imagine, that neither the Spaniards nor the Portugueze could have any temptation to ſettle in a country, of which they had no knowledge, but what was acquired by ſuch tragical events; and it is certain, that they firſt thought of

of nothing less than making any use of Solis's discovery, when they received some news which filled them with hopes, tho' built on very slender foundations, of drawing greater riches out of Paraguay than any other part of America. Sebastian Gabot, or Gabato, a Venetian, who in 1496 discovered Newfoundland, and part of the adjacent continent, for Henry VII. finding himself neglected by the English, at that time too much taken up with domestic affairs, to think of any establishments in the New World, passed over into Spain, where the reputation he had acquir'd of being a very able navigator,* procured him the post of great Pilot of Castile. The famous ship, called the *Victory*, the only vessel of Magellan's squadron which returned to Spain, and the first which sailed round the world, had lately brought home spices and other precious commodities from the Molucca Islands, and this success induced some merchants of Seville to engage Gabot to attempt the same voyage with a fleet, which they resolved to fit out at their own expence. As Gabot however did not chuse to act merely as a servant to a trading company, he thought proper to provide himself with a commission from the Emperor, and having repaired to Madrid for that purpose, he there entered into a treaty with Charles V. and it was signed the 4th of March 1525.

1525. THE substance of it was,† that Gabot should have the command of a squadron of four ships, in quality of Captain-General, and that Martin Mendez, who had been treasurer to Magellan's squadron, and came home on board the Victory, should serve under him as Lieutenant; that he should sail thro' the newly-discovered Streights, then cross the South-Sea to the Molucca Islands, and from thence proceed on the discovery of *Tharsis*, *Ophir*, and *Cipango*, which were then thought to be the islands of

* Herrera, third Decad, Book ix. Chap. 3.

† Herrera, ibid.

of Japan; that he should there load his ships with gold, silver, and the other most precious commodities the country afforded. It was himself that proposed this expedition to the Emperor; but whatever assurance he expressed of being able to make good such mighty promises, the merchants of Seville already began to repent the choice they had made of him, especially as they soon discerned the seeds of a misunderstanding between him and Mendez, on whom they chiefly depended for the success of the voyage. They even ordered their agent at Court to beseech the Emperor to name another commander, in case his Majesty thought the squadron might stay long enough to receive one.

This application proved ineffectual, and Gabot put to sea the 1st of April 1526, after re-inforcing his squadron with a fifth vessel, which a private adventurer had freighted at his own expence. Herrera says, that during this voyage he did not behave either as an able captain, or a skilful mariner; that for want of œconomy he soon fell short of provisions; that he kept no measures with those who had not the good fortune to be agreeable to him; that on his arrival, without any provisions, at the island of Geese,* a little way from Cape St. Augustin in Brazil, the inhabitants received him kindly, and re-victualled his ships, and that he repaid their good offices with the blackest ingratitude, by carrying off, in spite of their parents, some children of the first families on the island. In short, that on his arrival at the entrance of the bay, into which the river then called *Rio de Solis* discharges itself, he resolved not to proceed any further, as well because he had not provisions enough to carry him through the Streights of Magellan, as because the crews of his ships began to mutiny; and that after turning adrift on a desert island Martin Mendez, Francis de Rojas, and Michael de Rodas, who

* Isle de Patos.

who blamed his conduct in very free terms, he resolved to take an exact survey of the bay in which he then found himself.

I say the bay, because several people think, that the mouth of the river ought not to be brought so low as *Cape St. Mary*, where the land begins to take a turn from South-West to West, and at *Cape St. Anthony*, distant from the former forty-five common leagues of Spain, or the whole breadth of the bay's entrance; but that we ought to abide by the opinion of those, who place it at *la Puerta de la Piedra*, opposite to *Monte Video*, more than fifty leagues from Cape St. Anthony. I shall not, however, quarrel with the Spanish Geographers, who insist that Rio de la Plata is almost fifty leagues broad at its mouth. It cannot be denied that this river is one of the largest in the known world; but there are very few which it is harder for ships to enter, or where they are exposed to greater dangers, or more frequently lost; for which reason the sailors call it the *Hell of Mariners*. But to make amends for these dangers, it abounds in fish, especially the gold-fish, which is caught in great plenty on the sand-banks, with which its bottom is covered, and which form the principal danger. As soon as the water begins to grow sweet, it appears excellent; at first, indeed, if not used with great moderation, it is apt to bring on cholicks, laxes, and sometimes even bloody-fluxes; but in less than a month people accustom themselves to it, so as to have no more to fear from it. Besides being very wholesom, it has the very singular property of clearing the voice to such a degree, that one may immediately distinguish those who have often made use of it; but this advantage is lost little by little, by those who leave it off. Some memoirs attribute the same quality to the Uruguay and most of the rivers that fall into it. If this be true, it is probable that the Rio de la Plata derives this virtue from the Uruguay; but, to

to be ſure of it, we ſhould know whether the firſt of theſe rivers poſſeſſes this virtue above the place where both unite; a point, about which my memoirs are quite ſilent.

Be that as it will, Gabot eaſily overcame all theſe difficulties, and arrived in ſafety at ſome iſlands, the higheſt of them a little above Buenos Ayres, which he called the *iſlands of St. Gabriel.* The firſt he fell in with is about a league round, and afforded him good anchoring ground. Here he left his ſhips; and, taking to his boats, enter'd the channel between the iſlands and the continent to the right, and then the Uruguay which he miſtook for the Paraguay, as the Paraguay, beſides its not being as broad as the Uruguay at their junction, was hid from him by the iſlands of St. Gabriel to his left. Meeting with a little river on the right, he called it *Rio de ſan Salvador*, built a ſmall fort on the banks of it, and then detached ſome ſoldiers, under the command of John Alvarez Ramon, up the river, which he ſtill took for the true Rio de Solis.

Ramon, after three days navigation, having the misfortune to run a-ground on a ſand bank, was killed by the Indians, with ſome of his people; the reſt eſcaped by ſwimming, and made the beſt of their way back to Gabot, whom ſo melancholy an accident determined to return to the iſlands of St. Gabriel.

Having by this time diſcovered his miſtake, he ſailed about thirty leagues up the Paraguay, and built a fort at the mouth of a river iſſuing from the mountains of Tucuman, whoſe Indian name *Zacaranna* has been changed by the Spaniards into that of *Rio Tercero.* This fort he called the *fort of the Holy Ghoſt*; but it is better known in the accounts of his voyages, by that of *Gabot's Fort.* After leaving a garriſon in this fort, he proceeded up the river to the confluence of the Paraguay and the Parana, then,

 finding

finding himſelf between two large rivers, he entered that which appeared the broadeſt; which, as I have already obſerved, is the Parana; but, on finding it turn to the eaſt, he returned to the confluence for fear of advancing too far into Brazil, and failed up the Paraguay, where ſome Indians ſoon attacked him, killed five and twenty of his men, and took three priſoners; but he ſoon made them ſmart for it, by killing a much greater number of theirs. Theſe Indians were probably the ſame with thoſe who had killed Alexis Garcia; for we are told that Gabot recovered, by this blow, a great part of the effects taken from the Portugueze. As he knew nothing of Garcia's defeat, he looked upon all the gold and ſilver he took on this occaſion, as the produce of the mines in the neighbourhood; and no longer doubted of it, when ſome Indians, whom the terror of his arms, or the courteouſneſs of his behaviour, had engaged to enter into alliance with him, not only ſupplied him with plenty of proviſions, but likewiſe gave him bars of ſilver in exchange for Spaniſh goods of very little value. He, therefore, made no ſcruple of beſtowing the pompous name of *Rio de la Plata* on the Paraguay; a name, which has proved a ſource of miſtake to thoſe who did not know the true origin of it.

Just as Gabot was preparing to return to his ſhips with the treaſure he had amaſſed, there arrived in his camp a Portugueze captain, called *Diego Garcias*, who had been ſent by the captain-general of Brazil, to reconnoitre the country, and take poſſeſſion of it in the name of the crown of Portugal.

As Garcias, on the one hand, was not ſtrong enough to execute his commiſſion in ſpite of the Spaniards, whom he did not expect to meet in ſuch numbers on the banks of the Paraguay; ſo Gabot, on the other, reflecting that he himſelf was too weak to prevent the Portugueſe making themſelves

maſters

masters of the country, in case they returned with superior forces, as they easily might, thought the best thing he could do, would be to engage Garcias by presents, to follow him to the fort of the Holy Ghost, from whence, after some days stay, Garcias set out for Brazil.

Gabot now finding his presence necessary in Paraguay, instead of returning to Spain as he at first proposed, sent off Fernand Calderon, whom he had appointed treasurer to his fleet in the room of Mendez, with all the silver he had collected, and a letter for the Emperor, giving an account of every thing he had seen and done; pointing out the properest measures for securing the country to the crown of Castile; and beseeching his Majesty to send him sufficient succours for that purpose.

Calderon and another captain, called George Barloque, whom Gabot had joined in commission with him, reached Spain by the beginning of the year 1537, and met with a very favourable reception from the Emperor. The sight of the silver they brought with them, being, it is said, the first brought from America to Spain, dazzled him to such a degree, that he not only approved of every thing Gabot had done, and granted him all his requests, but ordered a grand armament to be made for that country, at his own expence. Two years, however, having elapsed without Gabot's hearing any thing of these his good dispositions, he thought it his duty to return to Spain, lest any longer delay might give the Portugueze a desire, and afford them an opportunity to return to Paraguay. Having, therefore, named Nuno de Lara to the government of the fort of the Holy Ghost, during his absence, and left him one hundred and twenty men, and all the provisions he could amass, he set out to join his squadron, and immediately put to sea.

'Lara, on his ſide, ſeeing himſelf ſurrounded by nations, from whom he could expect no reſpect but in proportion as he could command it, thought the beſt thing he could do, would be to gain over thoſe neareſt to him, which were the *Timbuez*; and he ſucceeded pretty well in the attempt. But his ſucceſs ſoon proved fatal to him, in a manner he little dreamed of. Mangora, Cacique of the Timbuez, happening, in one of the frequent viſits he paid Lara, to ſee Lucy Miranda, a Spaniſh lady, and wife of Sebaſtian Hurtado, one of the principal officers of the fort, became deeply enamoured with her. It was not long before ſhe perceived it; and, knowing what ſhe had to fear from a Barbarian, with whom it was ſo much the commander's intereſt to live upon good terms, ſhe did all that lay in her power not to be ſeen any more by him, and to guard againſt any violence or ſurprize. Mangora, on his ſide, thinking that if he could but get her to his habitation, he might diſpoſe of her as he pleaſed, often invited Hurtado to come and ſee him, and bring his wife along with him. But Hurtado as often begged to be excuſed, alledging that he could not abſent himſelf from the fort, without the commander's leave; and that he was ſure he ſhould never be able to obtain it.

Such an anſwer as this was enough to let the Cacique ſee, that, to ſucceed in his deſigns upon the wife, he muſt firſt get rid of the huſband. While he was, therefore, conſidering ways and means to do it, he got intelligence, that the huſband had been detached with another officer, called Ruiz Moſchera, and fifty ſoldiers, to collect proviſions. Looking upon this, therefore, as a favourable opportunity, ſince it not only removed the huſband, but weakened the garriſon, by which the wife might expect to be protected, he poſted four thouſand picked men in a marſh in the neighbourhood of the fort, and ſet

out for it, with thirty others loaded with refreshments. On his arrival at the gates of it, he sent word to Lara, that, hearing how much he was in want of provisions, he was come with enough to serve him, till the return of the convoy. Lara received the treacherous Cacique with the greatest demonstrations of gratitude, and insisted upon entertaining him and his followers. This was what Mangora had expected; and, he had, accordingly, given his men instructions how to behave, and appointed signals for those he had posted in the marsh.

1527-80. THE entertainment began with a great deal of chearfulness on both sides, and lasted till the night was far advanced; when, the Spaniards rising to break up, Mangora gave some of his attendants the signal for doing what he had before-hand directed; which was to set fire to the magazines of the fort, as soon as the Spaniards should be retired. This was accordingly done, without the Spaniards having the least suspicion of the matter. The officers were scarce composed to rest, when most of them being alarmed by the soldiers crying out *fire! fire!* and jumping out of bed to extinguish it, the Indians seized the opportunity of dispatching them. The rest were killed in their sleep; and the four thousand men posted in the marsh, having been at the same time let into the fort, it was immediately filled with slaughter and confusion. The governor, though wounded, having espied the treacherous Cacique, made up to him, and ran him through the body; but, being more intent upon satisfying his revenge, than consulting his safety, he continued so long venting his now useless fury on the dead body of his enemy, that the Indians had time to intercept his flight; and immediately dispatched him.

THERE now remain'd no living no soul in the fort, but the unfortunate Miranda, the innocent cause of

ſo bloody a tragedy, four other women, and as many little children, who were all tied and brought before Siripa, brother and ſucceſſor to the late Cacique. This Barbarian, at the ſight of Miranda, conceived the ſame paſſion for her, that had proved ſo fatal to his brother, and ordered her to be unbound, relinquiſhing to his attendants all the other priſoners. He then told her, that ſhe muſt not conſider herſelf as a ſlave in his houſe; and that it would even be her own fault, if ſhe did not become the miſtreſs of it; and that he hoped ſhe had ſenſe enough to prefer to an indigent forlorn huſband, the head of a powerful nation, who would take pleaſure in ſubmitting to her, himſelf and all his ſubjects. Miranda might well expect, that, by refuſing his offers, ſhe ſhould expoſe herſelf, at beſt, to a perpetual and moſt cruel ſlavery; but her virtue got the better of every other conſideration. She even gave Siripa the anſwer ſhe thought was moſt likely to exaſperate him, in hopes his love might change into fury; and a ſpeedy death put her innocence and honour beyond the reach of his brutal inclinations.

But in this ſhe was greatly miſtaken. Her refuſals ſerved only to increaſe the eſteem, Siripa had conceived for her, and heighten his paſſion, which he ſtill flattered himſelf he ſhould be at laſt able to ſatisfy. He continued, therefore, to treat her with a great deal of lenity, and even ſhewed her more civility and reſpect, than could be well expected from a Barbarian. But his moderation and gentleneſs ſerved only to make her more ſenſible of the danger ſhe was expoſed to. In the mean time, Hurtado, being returned with his convoy, was greatly ſurprized to behold nothing but a heap of aſhes, where he had left Gabot's tower. The firſt thing he did was to enquire what was become of his wife; and, being informed ſhe was with the Cacique of the Timbuez, he immediately ſet out to look for her, without con-

ſidering

ſidering what dangers he thereby fruitleſsly expoſed himſelf to. Siripa, at the ſight of a man, who was the ſole object of all Miranda's affections, could no longer contain himſelf, but ordered him to be tied to a tree, and there ſhot to death with arrows.

His attendants were preparing to obey him, when Miranda, drowned in tears, threw herſelf at the tyrant's feet, to obtain the life of her huſband; and, ſuch is the power of a paſſionate affection, it calmed the violent ſtorm, which it had but a little before excited in the heart of a Barbarian. Hurtado was unbound; he was even, ſometimes, permitted to ſee his wife. But the Cacique, at the ſame time he thus indulged them, gave them to underſtand, that they muſt not, on pain of death, attempt to go any further lengths. It is, therefore, probable, he only meant this indulgence as a ſnare to obtain a pretext for recalling the conditional reprief he had granted Hurtado, who ſoon ſupplied him with one. A few days after, Siripa's wife came to inform him, that Miranda was laid down with her huſband; the barbarian immediately ran to examine the truth of the report with his own eyes; and, in the firſt emotion of his paſſion, more to the ſatisfaction of his wife's jealouſy, than his own, he condemned Miranda to the flames, and Hurtado to the kind of death he had but lately eſcaped. The ſentence was immediately executed, and this faithful pair expired in ſight of each other, full of ſentiments worthy of their virtues.

1530-35. In the mean time Moſchera had made ſome preparations at Gabot's fort. But, finding at laſt, that it was to no purpoſe to continue there, as the animoſity between the Spaniards and Indians was now becoming irreconcilable, on account of the treachery of the latter, he embarked with the poor remnant of his garriſon, on board a little veſſel which Gabot had left behind him; and after falling down the river to the ſea, ranged the coaſt to the 32d

degree of South latitude, where, having discovered a convenient port, he built a little fort on its banks, and, finding the inhabitants disposed to live in friendship with him, sowed a small tract of land. But he had not been there long, when the governor of Brazil sent to inform him, that, if he expected to remain in quiet possession of his establishments, he must consent to take an oath of allegiance to the king of Portugal, to whom all the country belonged. To this summons Moschera answered, that he was resolved to maintain his ground, till their respective masters had agreed upon a partition of the Indies. He was, however, very little able to keep his word, for want of arms and provisions. But a French ship having soon after cast anchor at the little island of Canaanee, opposite his fort, he surprized her, and by that means supplied himself with both. He then erected a little battery, with four pieces of cannon he found on board his prize; and, the Portuguese being come soon after to attack him, to the amount of 80 men, supported by an army of Brazilians, he, after letting them land, and even pass unmolested through a wood, gave them so warm a salute in front, while a detachment, placed in the same wood, attacked them in the rear, that they immediately dispersed; and all those, who, after being spared by the cannon, had not saved themselves by flight, were put to the sword. Moschera, not satisfied with this advantage, embarked with this part of his men, and a great number of Indians, on board the vessels that had brought the Portuguese, and fell upon the town of St. Vincent, where he plundered the king's magazines. He soon perceived, however, that these successes, instead of serving to strengthen his establishment, tended only to the ruin of it, by making it an object so much the more worthy of the attention of the crown of Portugal. He, therefore, very judiciously removed his colony to the island of St. Catherine,

Catherine, where he flattered himself the Portuguese would not be in such haste to pursue him. Yet he made no long stay here.

The court of Spain had not, in the mean time, lost sight of Paraguay, though the news of all the Spaniards, that were settled in the country, having been either killed by the Indians, or obliged to desert it, joined to the absence of the Emperor, threw a damp upon all the resolutions taken to make good his claims to so desireable an acquisition.

But the Emperor, being at last returned to Madrid, began to think seriously of forming a powerful settlement on Rio de la Plata; and the preparations made for it greatly surpassed those already made to establish colonies in any other part of America.

Don Pedro de Mendoza, great cup-bearer to the Emperor, was appointed commander in chief of the expedition, adelantade and governor, and captain-general of all the countries that might be discovered as far as the South-sea, on condition that he should transport there, in two voyages, one thousand men, and one hundred horses, with arms, ammunition and provisions for one year, the whole at his own expence. He was, indeed, permitted to make establishments in any part, he thought proper, of the lands he might discover; and gratified with a pension, for life, of two thousand ducats, with leave, besides, to levy the same sum on the produce of the countries, of which he was appointed governor. The other conditions were, that of three fortresses, which he was to build at his own expence, he should be hereditary Alcalde; and Alguazil major of that where he might think proper to fix his residence; that, after residing in his government for three years, he might return to Spain, and name a governor to succeed him, who, on receiving his commission, should be entitled to the same prerogatives he himself had enjoyed; that though, according

cording to the laws of the kingdom, the Kings or Indian Caciques taken in war, were to pay their ransoms into the exchequer: these ransoms should be distributed among the governor and the troops, after a reduction of one-tenth to the use of his majesty. That, in case any treasures belonging to Caciques killed in war should fall into the hands of the Spaniards, they should be equally divided between his majesty and the governor. In fine, that the governor should take eight religious with him, to preach the gospel to the natives of the country, and provide all the posts with physicians, surgeons, and medicines. The Emperor then charged Mendoza's conscience with all the vexations and violences, which the Indians might, through his fault, suffer from the Spaniards; and declared, that their conversion being what he had most at heart, he would shew no mercy, to those, who dared to contradict his intentions in that respect.

ORDERS had been already given to equip
1535. at Cadiz, a fleet of 14 ships, and Don Juan Osorio, an Italian, who had distinguished himself greatly in the wars of Italy, took upon him the command of it, in quality of lieutenant to Mendoza. Such great preparations, and the reports that had been spread of the richness of the countries watered by the Rio de la Plata, attracted so many persons, even of the highest nobility, that the first armament, instead of five hundred only, the number originally proposed, consisted of twelve hundred men, amongst whom were thirty noblemen, all the eldest sons of their families, and several Flemish officers. In a word, no Spanish colony established in the new world can boast so many great names among its founders; and the posterity of many of them still subsists in Paraguay, especially in the capital of the province of that name. This fleet put to sea in the month of August, 1535, being in the season fittest for that pur-

pose,

poses as ships, which happen not to arrive at the Bay of Rio de la Plata, before the end of March, run a great risk of coming too late for the North and North-east winds, and being overtaken by those from the opposite quarters, which oblige them to winter in Brazil.

MENDOZA's fleet, after passing the line, was surprized and dispersed by a terrible storm. The ships, however, commanded by his brother, Don Diego de Mendoza, and a few others, happily reached the islands of St. Gabriel. But that ship carrying the Adelantade himself, and all the rest, were obliged to take refuge in the port of Rio de Janeiro, where, on bare suspicion that Osorio intended to supplant him, he very basely procured him to be assassinated. Though the Adelantade, it is probable, was advised to this step by many, who were jealous of Osori's great merit, or envied him, as a stranger, his high post; a great many others were so exasperated at it, that some of them that resolved to remain in Brazil, and others were preparing to return to Spain, when the Adelantade, having received notice of their design, immediately put to sea, to prevent their carrying it into execution, and had the unmerited good fortune of arriving safe at the islands of St. Gabriel. Though Don Diego de Mendoza was greatly pleased at seeing his brother, he was so far from entering into his views, in regard to Don John Osorio, that he expressed the greatest concern for what had happened, and even made no scruple of declaring publickly, that he was greatly afraid so unworthy an action would draw down a judgment upon his brother and his enterprize.

THE ships being now united between the islands of St. Gabriel and the western banks of the river, Don Pedro, thinking the neighbourhood might afford a good situation for his first settlement, sent Don Sanchez del Campo to look out for a sure and con-

venient

venient ſpot for that purpoſe; and, this officer having found one, on a point which advances into a river towards the North, before the coaſt takes a turn to the Weſt, Mendoza immediately ordered the plan of a city to be traced out there, under the name of *Nueſſa Senora de Buenos Ayres*, becauſe the air here is very wholeſom. This done, every man, without diſtinction, immediately put his hand to the work, ſo that, in a ſhort time, all were conveniently lodged.

1536. BUT it was not long before the natives of the country gave the new comers great reaſon to ſuſpect, that they were no way diſpoſed to favour this eſtabliſhment of theirs; therefore as proviſions began to grow ſcarce, the Adelantade ſent out his brother with a detachment of 3000 men, in order to obtain a ſupply by force, if he could not procure it by fair means. Some noblemen and a great many gentlemen would likewiſe ſerve as volunteers on the occaſion. The ſecond day after their ſetting out, they came in ſight of a body of about 3000 Indians, poſted at the other ſide of a little river, which falls into a marſh, and which it was requiſite to croſs, to proceed on their journey. Moſt of the Spaniards were for waiting, till the Indians themſelves ſhould croſs the river; but Don Diego having directed it to be ſounded, and by that means diſcovered that it was fordable, gave orders for paſſing it without any further delay. The troops obeyed, but the firſt that landed were ſurrounded by the Indians, and charged with ſuch fury, that they had not ſo much time as to form themſelves. Beſides, many of them had ſuffered their arms to get wet in croſſing the river, ſo that they could make no uſe of them. However, a great number of thoſe left behind ſpeedily arrived to ſupport them, the Indians were repulſed with great loſs. But their loſs ſerved only to exaſperate them, and render them ſtill more furious. The Spaniards therefore

were

were at last obliged to retreat. Of those who left Buenos Ayres, on this expedition, not above 150 escaped the field of battle; and of these almost one half died of fatigue, or of their wounds, during the retreat; many lords and gentlemen, and among them Don Diego de Mendoza, the general of this little army, lost their lives on this occasion.

The scarcity, which had prevailed at Buenos Ayres for some time past, was now changed into a dreadful famine, yet Don Pedro, afraid of giving the Indians a habit of spilling Spanish blood, forbid the inhabitants, under pain of death, to go into the fields in search of relief. But, as hunger is one of those extremities, which make people blind to the greatest danger, and deaf, even to the most sacred injunctions, he placed soldiers at all the out-lets to the country, with orders to fire upon those who should endeavour to transgress his orders. A woman, however, called *Maldonata* was lucky enough to elude the vigilance of the guards; and God twice preserved her by one of those exertions of his providence, to which public notoriety alone can extort belief from the incredulous, apt to take offence at every thing beside the common course of things. This woman, having for a long time rambled about the country, took notice of a cavern, where she flattered herself she might at last find a sure retreat, against all the dangers that threatened her: but she had scarce entered it, when she spied a lioness, the sight of which terrified her to the last degree. She was, however, soon quieted a little, by the caresses of this animal, at the same that she perceived they were not disinterested. The lioness, it seems, was reduced to the last extremity, as, though her term for littering was expired, she could not get rid of her burthen. Maldonata, upon this, took courage, and gave the poor creature the assistance she seemed so earnestly to require. The lioness being happily delivered, not only immediately

immediately gave her benefactress the most sensible proofs of her gratitude; but never returned from searching her own daily subsistence, without laying, at the feet of Maldonata, enough for her's, till, the whelps being strong enough to walk abroad, she at last took them out with her, and never returned, leaving Maldonata to shift for herself.

MALDONATA soon after fell into the hands of some Indians, who made a slave of her, and kept her in captivity for a considerable time. Being, at length, retaken by some Spaniards, she was brought back to Buenos Ayres, where Don Francis Ruiz de Galan commanded for Don Pedro de Mendoza, who happened to be absent. Galan was a man, whose severity often degenerated into cruelty. Therefore, as he knew that Maldonata had stolen out of the city, contrary to orders, and did not think her sufficiently punished by a very long and very cruel slavery, he condemned her to death, and to a kind of death, which no man but a tyrant could have thought of. He ordered some soldiers to take her into the country, and there leave her tied to a tree, not doubting but some wild beast or other would soon come and tear her to pieces.

Two days after, the same soldiers being sent to see what was become of her, they were greatly surprized to find her alive and unhurt, though surrounded by lions and tigers, whom, a lioness, lying at her feet with her whelps, kept at a distance. As soon as the Lioness perceived the soldiers, she retired a little, as it were to give them leave to unbind her benefactress, which they accordingly did. Maldonata then related to them the history of this Lioness, whom she knew to be the same she had formerly assisted; and the soldiers remarked, that, on their offering to carry away Maldonata, the lioness fawned greatly upon her, and seemed to express some concern at losing her. On the report the soldiers

made to the commander of what they had seen, he said that he could not but pardon a woman, whom heaven had protected in so signal a manner, without appearing more inhuman than lions themselves. The author of *Argentina*, the first author to relate this adventure, assures us, that he had heard it, not only from the publick voice, but from the mouth of Maldonata herself; and Father del Techo says, that, when he arrived at Paraguay, a great many persons spoke to him of it, as an event which had happened within their memory, and of which nobody doubted the truth.

1537. I SAID that Don Pedro de Mendoza was absent from Buenos Ayres, when Maldonata was brought back to that city. He had, it seems, set out on a expedition up the Rio de la Plata, in quest of a remedy against the famine, which had already carried off 200 souls. Having stopt in this excursion to consider the ruins of Gabot's tower, he found the situation of it so very advantageous, that he built a new fort there, under the name of *Good Hope.* Some authors mention it by that of *Corpus Christi.* But his chief motive for making this new establishment, was, his being told by Don Juan de Ayolas, his King's lieutenant, who had got the start of him in this expedition, that he might be always sure of provisions among the Timbuez, whom this officer had the good fortune of reconciling with the Spaniards; or at least, among their neighbours, the *Caracoes.* Don Juan de Ayolas had done more. He prudently left a detatchment under Don Francisco de Alvarado, at the place where the fort formerly stood. Mendoza, exceedingly well satisfied with his lieutenant's conduct, ordered him to continue his navigation up the river, as high as he could go, and gave him three barks, and fifty men, for that purpose. He, likewise, permitted Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, and some other gentlemen, to accompany

Don

Don Juan, recommending to him, at the same time, to tranfmit, within four months, an account of his tranfactions and difcoveries, if he could not himfelf return with it.

MENDOZA had not as yet amaffed provifions enough to put an entire ftop to the famine at Buenos Ayres, where it was attended with all the horrors we fo often find mentioned in hiftory on the like occafions. But, fome time after, Don Gonzalez de Mendoza, who went to Brazil in queft of a fupply, returned with a cargo, and was foon after followed by two others, with Mofchera and all his colony of the ifland of St. Catherine, befides a great many Brazilian families that had taken a liking to him. Thefe feafonable fupplies were of great fervice to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres. But, as the number of them was at the fame time confiderably increafed, though not enough to cover their country labours from the infults of the neighbouring Indians, who feemed, from day to day, more and more determined to extirpate them, there was the greateft reafon to fear, that the famine would foon break out again with redoubled fury.

DON Juan de Ayolas having, on his fide, pufhed up the river as far as the place where the city of the Affumption was afterwards built, met with a very friendly reception from the *Guaranis*, who occupy the country for a great way on the eaftern banks of the Paraguay, but for a much greater way inland, even as far as the frontiers of Brazil. They even filled his veffels with provifions, which he paid for in goods which he had taken along with him for that purpofe. He then advanced to the latitude of 20 degrees 40 minutes, where he difcovered, to the right, a little port, to which he gave the name of *Candlemas-Port*. And, as the Guaranis had affured him, that in this latitude, he would, by marching wefterly over land, meet with Indians who had a great deal of gold and filver, he refolved to go in queft of them. He therefore

therefore, caused himself to be put ashore opposite to Candlemas-Port, to which he sent back his vessels with directions to Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, to whom he had delagated all the authority he himself had received from Don Pedro de Mendoza, to wait there for him for six months, at the expiration of which, he might, if he heard nothing of him, take what course his own discretion should dictate to him. He, likewise, left, at Candlemas-Port, a small detachment of Spaniards, under the command of captain Vergara. But all these precautions proved fruitless; for, Irala, under pretence that his vessels began to grow leaky, remained at Candlemas-Port but four months.

It is probable, that Don Juan de Ayolas had sent the Adelentade an account of these resolutions and dispositions of his; but that his letters never came to hand. At last, the want of news from him gave Don Pedro de Mendoza great uneasiness, as Ayolas was the officer of the whole colony, in whom he had the greatest confidence, and who best deserved it. He, therefore, dispatched Don Gonzales de Mendoza, and Don Juan de Salazar, to know what was become of him; and fell sick a few days after their departure. He had already taken a resolution to return to Spain; and, as soon as he found himself strong enough to bear the sea, took shipping, with his treasurer Juan de Caceres. He left Don Francis de Galan commander at Buenos Ayres; and, in virtue of the power he had received from the Emperor, named Don Juan de Ayolas his successor, having first appointed him his heir in case of death. At length, he put to sea, with a heart ready to burst with despair, and cursing the day he had transported himself to ramble after a chimera, and court dishonour in a savage country. He had soon as much reason to repent his attempting to return. His ship had scarce lost sight of land, when all the elements

 seemed

ſeemed to have conſpired againſt him. One day, his proviſions being all ſpoiled or exhauſted, he found himſelf obliged to eat of a bitch that was pregnant; and her infected fleſh, joined to the chagrin that inwardly devoured him, brought on a total alienation of his ſenſes, which ſoon changed to a phrenſy, in a fit of which he, at laſt, miſerably expired.

1537-38. WHEN the news of Mendoza's death reached Spain, there were in the port of Seville two ſhips fitted out on his account, that waited only for a favourable wind, to ſail to his aſſiſtance; but, thoſe who had advanced the money neceſſary for this armament, thought proper to ſtop them, not knowing who they ſhould apply to for their reimburſement. The Emperor, being informed of this delay, immediately ordered, that the ſhips ſhould be permitted to ſail; gave the command of them to the inſpector Alphonzo Calrera; and added a galleon loaded with ammunition and arms, under the command of Don Lopez de Aguiar. His majeſty, likewiſe, delivered Caceres a commiſſion for Don Juan de Ayolas, appointing him governor and captain-general of the province of Rio de la Plata; and an amneſty for all thoſe who had eat human fleſh; an abomination ſeveral had been driven to, during the late famine at Buenos Ayres, and to avoid puniſhment, had taken refuge among the Indians. Six Franciſcan Friars were, likewiſe, ſent on board the galleon, and ſupplied by the Emperor with every thing requiſite for the exerciſe of their miniſtry. But, though this convoy ſailed from Cadiz towards the end of 1537, it did not arrive at Buenos Ayres till the year 1539.

1538. DURING this interval, Don Gonzales de Mendoza, and Don Juan de Salazar, whom the deceaſed governor had ſent in queſt of Don Juan de Ayolas, arrived at Candlemas-Port, without being able to procure any intelligence of him; but they were

were informed that Irala was among the savages of the neighbourhood, where they, accordingly, found him. They then made with him a great many excursions and enquiries after Don Ayolas; but all to no purpose. Upon this, they fastened to a tree, at Candlemas-Port, a paper to inform Don Juan, in case he should happen to come that way, of every thing it was proper he should know; and, above all things, to put him upon his guard against the Payaguas. This advice was the more necessary, as there is not, perhaps, a more dangerous nation on the face of the earth, since they cover the most savage dispositions, with the most engaging manners, and never make greater protestations of friendship, than when they are treacherously meditating some mischief. They are, besides, so expert at contriving means to execute their dark purposes, that it is no wonder numbers have been deceived by them, till a great many tragical events had discovered their cruelty and craftiness. These Barbarians have no fixed habitation, but are to be found every where on both sides of the Paraguay, and on the river itself, where they carry on a continual piracy.

MENDOZA and Salazar, after leaving Candlemas-Port, fell down the Paraguay to the mouth of the most northern branch of the Pilco Mayo into that river, in the latitude of 25 degrees and some minutes; where, having taken notice of a port formed by a cape that runs South into the Paraguay, from the eastern banks of it, they were so taken with the conveniency of its situation, that they built a fort there, which in a very short time grew into a city; and is, at this day, the capital of the province of Paraguay. This place lies mid-way between Peru and Brazil, and at three hundred leagues from Cape St. Mary. Its founders gave it the name of the Assumption, which it still retains.

MENDOZA remained here, while Salazar set out for Buenos Ayres, which he found reduced to the last extremity. The famine had again broke out there, and was arrived at the greatest height. Besides Galan was so universally detested, that all the inhabitants would have deserted it, but for fear of becoming the prey of wild beasts, or of the Barbarians who surrounded them. Salazar's arrival, therefore, gave them great joy, which was considerably increased at the sight of the three vessels from Spain, under Calrera, which came to anchor there two or three days after. As Salazar reported, that there was no scarcity of provisions at the Assumption, Galan and Calrera resolved to go there themselves to obtain a supply; and the first, having declared that he would take with him a party of soldiers, both those he picked out for that purpose, and those he left behind, were equally overjoyed; the first at the prospect of soon getting into a country where there was no danger of starving; and the last, at the thoughts of being rid of a commander, whose severity they thought equal to any other scourge.

BUT the first were greatly disappointed, when, on their arrival at the Assumption, after a great many dangers and fatigues, they found the same scarcity there, they had escaped at Buenos Ayres. Salazar, however, could not be accused of having imposed upon them, as it was on the strength of the good disposition of the Indians towards the Spaniards, he had flattered them with the expectation of plenty; and this good disposition had been render'd of no effect by locusts, which had devoured, in the grass, all the seed the former had sown; so that the commander of Buenos Ayres, who had reinforced his escort with half the garrison of the fort of Good Hope, found himself under a necessity of making all the haste he could back, for fear of increasing a famine in a

place, in which he flattered himself with the hopes of enjoying the blessings of plenty.

1539. At his arrival at the fort of Good Hope, he vented his spleen upon the Indians in the neighbourhood, called Caracoas; who had, it seems, been accused to him of having favoured the enemies of the Spaniards. Without examining whether the charge was true or false, he resolved to make them feel the smart of his resentment. He communicated his design to Don Francis de Alvarado, commander of the fort, and some other officers, who omitted nothing to dissuade him from so base a proceeding; but it was all to no purpose: and, as he was unwilling to engage in a war, which might delay him too long, and perhaps cost him a great many men, he made no scruple of adding treachery to injustice. After treating the Caracoas in the most friendly manner, he one morning at day break fell upon them when they least thought of it; set fire to their cabins; carried off a great many of their women and children, whom he distributed among his soldiers; and then reimbarked with Alvarado, who, it is probable, did not chuse to remain in a fort, which he foresaw would soon be attacked by all the Indians in the neighbourhood. Don Antonio Mendoza was left to command in his stead with 100 soldiers.

This perfidious behaviour immediately awakened in the hearts of the Timbuez, all their ancient animosity against the Spaniards; and they resolved to rid themselves effectually of a nation, whose promises they imagined could never be safely relied upon. To be the surer of their stroke, they pretended an expedition against some other Indians, who, they gave out, were as much the enemies of the Spaniards, as their own; and then applied for assistance to Don Antonio Mendoza, who had the imprudence to give them half his garrison, under the command of Alphonso Suarez de Figueroa. The Timbuez re-

 ceived

ceived this reinforcement with great marks of gratitude; and, that very day, the army began its march; but the Spaniards were ſcarce advanced a league, when they were ſuddenly attacked, behind, by a body of their pretended allies, that lay in ambuſh for that purpoſe; and in front, by thoſe who conducted them. They fought, however, with the greateſt bravery; but were, at laſt, overpowered by numbers, ſo that not a ſingle man of them eſcaped.

The Timbuez now flattered themſelves, that they ſhould have no difficulty in reducing thoſe that remained in the fort; and immediately inveſted it with the moſt hideous ſhouts. Mendoza, judging that nothing but a deſperate ſtroke could ſave him, made a ſally upon the Barbarians, in hopes of cutting his way through them; but he loſt his braveſt men in the attempt, and himſelf received a wound that diſabled him. He was, however, fortunate enough to regain the fort, where he had almoſt given himſelf up for loſt, when, happily, two Spaniſh brigantines anchored before it. The commanders of theſe veſſels ſoon perceived that it was beſieged; and, as they had been ſent by Galan, whom his conſcience reproached with his treachery to the Caracoas, and who began to reflect, though a little too late, on the evil conſequences that might attend it, they immediately landed ſome men to relieve the place. The Timbuez, on their ſide, at the ſight of the brigantines, made their laſt effort to carry it; but the men that were landed, ſupported by ſome diſcharges of cannon from the brigantines, obliged them, at laſt, to retire with conſiderable loſs.

Some days after this, Don Anthony de Mendoza dying of his wounds, the officer who commanded the brigantines, ſeeing no appearance of being able to preſerve the fort of Good Hope, thought proper to demoliſh it, and take on board the miſerable remains of the garriſon. That of the Aſſumption was

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in pretty good condition, and Irala continued to take a great deal of pains to get intelligence of the governor. At laſt, after making a great many excurſions to very little purpoſe, he returned to Candlemas-Port. But, though he could hear nothing of Don Ayolas, the writing which he had left there for him, was no longer to be found. He then remounted the river; returned to the Payaguas, where he ran a great many riſks, and was even wounded in a ſkirmiſh. At length, one evening, as he lay anchored at a good diſtance from the ſhore, he heard a voice, calling to him from the other ſide of the river.

He immediately ſent off ſome men, in a canoe, to the place from whence it came, where they found an Indian, who deſired to be conducted to the captain. As this Indian was alone and unarmed, they readily complied with his requeſt. Irala having aſked him what nation he belonged to, he anſwered to the *Chanes*, inhabitants of the plains; and that he wanted to meet ſome Spaniards to inform them of the fate of one of their greateſt captains, called Ayolas. At pronouncing this name, a flood of tears ſtopped his voice, which, after a little pauſe, repeated ſighs again interrupted, till at length being a little come to himſelf, he made a ſhift to give the following account.

"Captain Ayolas, on his arrival among us, communicated to our Cacique his deſign of penetrating further, in order to diſcover whence ſome Indians had got the gold and ſilver, that had been found among them. As he was but badly eſcorted to undertake ſo long, ſo painful, and withal ſo dangerous a journey, our Cacique gave him a reinforcement. He then ſet out; and, at laſt, after many ſkirmiſhes with the Indians, he found out what he was come in queſt of. On his arrival on the frontiers of Peru, he was pretty well received by the Indians he met

there; and, indeed, he deserved it by his amiable behaviour, and the good order he maintained among those he brought with him. At length, he returned back to our country, loaded with gold and silver; and our Cacique made him a present of some more: He then told us, that he intended to join his countrymen, whom he had left with his barks on the Paraguay, and then return with a greater escort. Upon this, our Cacique ordered several of his subjects to assist him in transporting his treasures to the river, and I was of the number. We crossed vast deserts to avoid meeting with some nations he suspected; and, at last, arrived at the place where he had left his barks; but they were no longer to be found. However, we thought proper to remain with him some days longer, in hopes he might, at least, get some intelligence of them. In the mean time, some Indians, allies of the Payaguas, after having feasted us with their game, invited us to take some repose among their friends; but this was only a snare laid by the traitors to deceive the Spaniards, who never suspected it; for, when they had brought us into some marshes, where our march was attended with great difficulty, the Payaguas, whom they had informed of their designs, fell suddenly upon us, and massacred the Spaniards. Many of my countrymen, likewise, lost their lives; and I, and all the rest were made slaves. Captain Ayolas had happily made his escape, and hid himself among some bushes; but they soon discovered him, and conducted him to an island, where they put him to a much more cruel death, than they had done the rest of the Spaniards. Some time after, I was happy enough to make my escape, and have been ever since roving about to meet with Spaniards, and inform them of these events."

IRALA would have been very glad to chastise the Payaguas for their perfidy, and recover the treasure

ſure that had been both their inducement to commit it, and their reward when committed; but the overflowing of the river would not allow him to follow them into their retreats; and, beſides, he had ſcarce a man left, that was not either ſick, or exhauſted with fatigue. Himſelf, had not entirely got the better of his wounds; and, though he had had ſomething more preſſing to take up his thoughts, he, therefore, made the beſt of his way to the Aſſumption, which already began to wear the face of a city, and where moſt of his officers had taken up their reſidence. Theſe noblemen and gentlemen were reſpected as the conquerors of Paraguay. The diſpatches from the court gave them that title. They even formed, for a long time, the council of the province; and the Emperor, in moſt of his letters to the governors and commanders, ordered them to undertake nothing without their advice. We have ſeen, that Don John de Ayolas had delegated all his authority to Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, for the time he ſhould be abſent; and this officer made no doubt of his being acknowledged as governor general of the province of Rio de la Plata, till the Emperor ſhould have named another; nor did any one at the Aſſumption think proper to diſpute this title with him.

Buenos Ayres, in the mean time, was every day loſing its inhabitants; for the laſt proviſions arrived there from Spain having been ſoon conſumed, a third famine enſued, equally violent with either of the two former. Such of the inhabitants, as took refuge among the Indians, were maſſacred by the *Charius*, who infeſted the whole country. At length Galen and Calrera reſolved to repair to the Aſſumption, and as many of the inhabitants, as could find room in their veſſels, thought proper to accompany them. Galan finding, on his arrival, Irala not univerſally acknowledged as governor-general, immediately declared

declared himſelf one of his competitors. But Calrera ſoon put an end to the competition, by producing a ſchedule ſigned by the Emperor, and which his Imperial Majeſty himſelf had delivered him.

THIS inſtrument, which was dated the 12th of September, 1537, imported, that, in caſe the perſon, who might have been appointed by Don Pedro de Mendoza, governor of Rio de la Plata, ſhould be dead without naming a ſucceſſor, and the founders and conquerors of the province had not themſelves put one in his place, he ſhould aſſemble them, and make them take an oath to elect him, whom they ſhould, in their conſcience, think beſt qualified for ſuch an important employment; that he ſhould ſee, that the perſon elected by a plurality of voices was univerſally acknowledged by the reſt; and obeyed, as one inveſted with the Emperor's authority. Calrera then proceeded to the execution of this commiſſion; and Dominick Martinez de Irala, who had already for him the votes of moſt of the electors, was unanimouſly proclaimed governor and commander general, till his majeſty ſhould be pleaſed to name another.

CALRERA, before he diſmiſſed the electors, propoſed to them the abandoning of Buenos Ayres, where it was evident, he ſaid, by many years experience, that it was impoſſible to ſubſiſt, till the Spaniards ſhould be better able to command the reſpect of the neighbouring Indians, and obtain proviſions from them. The ſentiments of the aſſembly were divided on this head, ſeveral repreſented the neceſſity of having a port for the reception of veſſels from Spain, and how much the city of the Aſſumption itſelf, ſituated at 300 leagues from the ſea, was likely to ſuffer if no ſhips were to arrive from thence. To this the governor anſwered, that it would be an eaſy matter to eſtabliſh a communication with Peru; and he

he had art enough to persuade a great many, that they might easily procure from thence all the assistance they could stand in need of. No one, at first, suspected, though it appeared soon after, that all the governor aimed at by this alternative, was to render himself independent; as, in case it took place, no orders from court could reach him, but very late, and with great difficulty; and, when they did, he could easily find pretences for eluding them, should they prove any way disagreeable to him.

The council, therefore, assented to this plan, and Don Diego d'Abreu was charged with the execution of it. As to the inhabitants of Buenos Ayres, nothing could equal the joy expressed by them, at the news of such a resolution. It proved equally agreeable to the equipage of a Genoese ship, which, on its voyage to Peru with a cargo worth fifty thousand ducats, had been first stopped by contrary winds at the entrance into the streights of Magellan; and, having afterwards put into Rio de la Plata, had the misfortune of being wrecked there, on a sand-bank pretty near Buenos Ayres, beyond a possibility of saving any part of the cargo. The men escaped the danger of being drowned, but it was only to fall into that of being starved. There were on board this ship several Italian gentlemen, whose posterity, it is probable, still subsist in Paraguay; at least, we shall have occasion to mention some of them in the course of this history. The principal were Don Anthony de Aquino, Don Thomas Rizo, and Don John Baptist Trochi.

The governor took care to send a plentiful convoy of provisions to meet the transmigrants; and, as soon as they were all lodged in the Assumption, he surrounded it with a palisadoe; established a police in it; and took a list of the inhabitants, who were found to amount to six hundred men, besides women and children. Some time after this, being

desirous

desirous of giving the Indians, many of whom had been already baptized by the Franciscan friars, a grand idea of the christian religion, he bethought himself, for that purpose, of a general procession; and, accordingly, appointed one for the Holy Thursday following, in commemoration of our Saviour's passion. He then invited all the Indians of the neighbourhood to be present at this ceremony; but, as the bad usage which the Spaniards had already begun to give them, had not inspired them with any great affection for such masters; and many of them, besides, had embraced the gospel merely through interest or fear, few of them came, but in hopes of finding an opportunity to shake off a yoke, which, from day to day, was growing more heavy and insupportable. It is said, there came no less than eight thousand of them to behold this ceremony, without any other arms than their bows and arrows, without which, it was well known, they never appeared any where. But they knew, that these arms alone were sufficient to execute their designs, as they knew the Spaniards were to appear on the occasion, bare shouldered; and with no arms but scourges, and these to be entirely employed on their bodies. And now the procession was going to set out, when an Indian woman, servant to Salazar, who had always used her with great kindness, entered his room; and, seeing him ready to sally forth in the equipage of a flagellant, told him, with tears in her eyes, that she was heartily concerned to see him thus preparing for destruction; and, upon his pressing her to explain herself, led him into the whole affair. He, therefore, ran directly to inform the governor of what he had so seasonably discovered; and the governor immediately took the only course such critical circumstances admitted.

He pretended he had just received intelligence, that the *Japiges*, who had lately declared against the

the Spaniards, were almost at the gates of the city; and, after dispatching private orders to all the inhabitants to arm themselves, he sent to all the principal chiefs of the Indians, to beg they would directly repair to his house, and assist him with their advice. They accordingly came, not suspecting any design against them; and, as fast as they entered, were fettered and shut up in separate rooms, till, all being arrived, he acquainted them with the intelligence he had received of their treacherous designs, and condemned them to be hanged. The sentence was immediately executed, in sight of the great number of Indians assembled about the city, who, seeing all the Spaniards under arms, not only remained very quiet, but publicly acknowledged they had likewise deserved death; adding, that, if the Spaniards would but pardon them, they should have no reason to repent their indulgence. They afterwards made an offer of wives to such of the Spaniards, as were not yet provided with any; and their offer was accepted. The Indian women, whom the Spaniards married on this occasion, proved fruitful, and tolerably agreeable in their manners and behaviour; which afterwards induced a great many other Spaniards to contract alliances of the same kind. Some of them have since married Negresses; and this is the reason, why there are now so many Meztizzoes and Mulottoes in this part of America.

1540. As the Emperor, in the mean time, received no news from Paraguay, and, for that reason, could no longer doubt of Ayolas's death, his Majesty began to think seriously of giving it another chief, and such further assistance as it might be supposed to require. But the question was, to find a man willing to contribute to the expence of a considerable armament, after the disappointments Don Pedro de Mendoza had met with. Charles V. however, was not long at a loss for one. Don Al-

varez

varez Nunez de Vera Cabeca de Vaca offered to lay out on the occasion eight thousand ducats, being all he was worth in the world; and his offer was immediately accepted.

It is very surprizing, that a man, in whom probity, prudence, piety, and the most disinterested zeal for the true honour of his sovereign, were eminently conspicuous, should not have proved a blessing to Paraguay; and that his great merit should have served only to ruin him, and expose him to the most injurious treatment. His virtues had already undergone some very severe trials, in a voyage he made to America in 1528, as treasurer to the squadron of Pamphile de Narvaez, whose enterprize had been but one continued issue of misfortunes; his vessels were dispersed by a storm; and, that which carried Don Alvarez, having been wrecked on the coast of New Spain, the whole crew were made slaves by the natives. But Don Alvarez soon attracted the respect of these barbarians, especially by the great number of cures he performed, which made such an impression upon them, that they could hardly be withheld from paying him divine honours. The Spaniards themselves, on account of his exemplary conduct, considered many of these cures as altogether miraculous. Don Alvarez, on his return to Spain, maintained the reputation he had so justly acquired, so that the Emperor accepted his offers with great pleasure. His Majesty appointed him Adelantade of Rio de la Plata, and governor and captain-general of that province; on condition, however, that he should not assume the two last titles, till he had received certain intelligence of Ayolas's death, under whom he was to act merely as his lieutenant, in case this governor should be still living.*

In

* The dignity of Adelantade is merely civil, and does not entitle the person invested with it to the first place, but in the

In the instructions which the Emperor gave Don Alvarez, he charged him, above all things, not to tolerate any lawyers or attorneys in his government, being convinced, he said, by experience, that law-suits tended greatly to retard the progress of colonies. He, next, ordered him to take care, that the Spaniards, who should cultivate the lands marked out for them for twenty-five years successively, should be considered as the proprietors of such lands;* and that all should have liberty to trade with the natives, and return to Spain, when they thought proper. He, likewise, declared, that it was his intention, Alcaldes should be appointed in every town for the administration of justice; that no settler should be prosecuted for debt for the first four years after his arrival in the country, nor pay, during the two first any import duties, or any of the imports comprehended under the name of *Almajarisfazgo*; that the privilege of recusation and appeal to the King's council should be inviolably maintained; that no one should be hindered from having recourse to his Majesty's justice, or from writing to him; that in criminal causes, where the accused appealed to the council, the proceedings prescribed in that case by the common law should take place; that in regard to those, who died intestate or without heirs, the regulations added to these instructions should be punctually complied with; that Don Alvarez should decide nothing precipitately, or without advice; and take care that the subaltern commanders and judges acted with equal caution; that he should not permit the interest of money to exceed a castillan,† or the King's fifth to be

the council for civil affairs, and the courts of justice; so that, in the army, an Adelantade may act as a subaltern officer.

* This confession, if it may be called one, seems better calculated to tire the patience of new settlers than animate their industry.

† A piece of gold worth about three shillings.

be levied upon any thing but gold or silver; that commons for cattle should be every where laid out; in fine, that the ordinary Alcaldes should be allowed to decide all such causes, as it was usual to carry before the tribunal of the *Santa Hermandad*.*

Don Alvarez had no sooner received his dispatches, than he repaired to Seville, where he purchased two ships, one of three hundred tons, and the other of one hundred and fifty, with two caravals; and embarked on the four vessels 400 soldiers doubly armed, who had very chearfully offered to follow his fortunes. From Seville he repaired with his little fleet to Cadiz, and from thence put to sea the beginning of November. In nine days he reached the islands of Palma, and waited there for a favourable wind, till the 26th, when he set sail for the Cape de Verd islands. The capitana, or largest of his ships, though new from the stocks, and in other respects, to all appearance, an excellent vessel, made a great deal of water during the passage, by which a considerable quantity of his provisions was damaged, and his men greatly fatigued. At last, however, he in nineteen days reached Santiago, one of the Cape de Verd islands.

The air of Santiago is very unwholesom
1541. at this season of the year, and generally causes a very great mortality among the crews of such ships as have the misfortune of being obliged to breathe it; notwithstanding which, Don Alvarez did not lose a single man, during the five-and-twenty days he stayed at this island. This was considered as a very extraordinary exemption, and renewed the memory of the prodigies operated by him, during his captivity among the Indians. What happened a few days after, confirmed all his soldiers and sailors in their opinion, that heaven favoured their commander in a special manner.

AFTER

* This is a tribunal established for the surety of the high roads, and from whose sentence there is no appeal.

After having past the line, he found, that, out of one hundred casks of water put on board the Capitana, but three remained; and, therefore, ordered his pilots to make for the land. The fourth day, before there was light enough to discern any thing, the people on board were very much surprized to hear a grasshopper sing. A sailor, it seems, had, unknown to any body, brought one of these insects on board; and this was the first time of its being heard. Upon this, some of the crew affirmed, that they must be very near land, as these creatures never fail to sing when they smell it. Don Alvarez, therefore, immediately sent a sailor up into the round-top, who, the moment it was light, descried some great rocks bordering a very high land, in sight of which the ships continued their course; the grasshopper never failing, during the whole time, to proclaim the return of day, though it had been quite silent at the Canary, and Cape de Verd islands.

After doubling Cape Trio, in twenty-four degrees of south latitude, they entered the port of Cananea; and arrived, the 24th of March 1541, at the island of St. Catherine, which Don Alvarez immediately took possession of for the crown of Castile, treating the islanders, however, with great kindness, as also the inhabitants of the opposite continent, where he heard there were two Friars, in no very agreeable circumstances. These fathers no sooner heard of his arrival, than they came to wait upon him, and informed him, that the Indians, among whom they had resided, had, in fact, a great aversion to the Spaniards, and no great affection for themselves in particular. Don Alvarez, therefore, promised to interpose in their favour, and his good offices had the desired success. It now began to appear, that he was blessed with a method of treating with the Indians, which never

failed of procuring him, even at the first interview, their esteem and affection.

In the month of May, he detached a caravel, commanded by the treasurer Philip de Caceres, for Buenos Ayres; but Caceres, having in vain endeavoured to double Cape St. Mary, returned to the islands of St. Catherine, where twelve Spaniards arrived soon after in an open boat. They had made their escape from Buenos Ayres, being no longer able, they said, to bear the ill-treatment of those who commanded there; they added, that a supply of men and provisions had lately arrived there; but that the famine, notwithstanding, still continued to rage there with great violence; and that, besides, the inhabitants, were constantly in danger of being exterminated by the neighbouring Indians. They, likewise, informed Don Alvarez, that at six score leagues from the place where he now was, a town had been lately built under the name of the Assumption of the blessed virgin; from whence to Cape St. Mary they reckoned, to go down a river, the navigation of which was very dangerous, three hundred and fifty leagues; that they had received the most certain intelligence of Don Juan de Ayolas, and all those who accompanied him, having been murdered by the Payaguas; and that Don Domingo Martinez de Irala was considered as the author of their misfortunes, by not having waited for them at Candlemas-Port, according to the directions left with him by Don Ayolas; that the royal officers harrassed the Indians, and treated the Spaniards but little better; that their design, in flying from Buenos Ayres, was to make the best of their way to Spain, and inform the royal council of the Indies of all these events; lastly, that Irala had been acknowledged governor general by the whole province, and commanded in person, at the Assumption.

FROM

From this relation, inconſiſtent with what we have already ſaid of the evacuation of Buenos Ayres, unleſs we ſuppoſe that thoſe who gave it had been a long time abſent from that place, Don Alvarez judged his preſence was abſolute neceſſary at the Aſſumption; and, therefore, reſolved upon going there by the ſhorteſt road, in ſpite of all the arguments made uſe of by his principal officers to perſuade him to continue with the fleet, and touch at Buenos Ayres. He, therefore, ordered the Factor Peter de Orantes, to get intelligence of the route he might take by land; and this officer, after ſurveying the country, reported, that the firſt Indians he had met with, and likewiſe thoſe of St. Catherine who accompanied him, informed him, that the ſhorteſt way was to follow the river *Habucu*, which falls into the ſea oppoſite the northernmoſt point of the iſland of St. Catherine, and about nineteen or twenty leagues from the port where he now was. Don Alvarez ſent again to examine this route, and, being again informed that it was very practicable, reſolved to ſet out without loſing any more time. He intended to have left the Friars we juſt mentioned, in the iſland of St. Catherine, to labour in the converſion of the inhabitants and their neighbours on the continent; but they preſſed him ſo much for leave to accompany him, that he at laſt thought proper to grant their requeſt.

The 18th of October, after giving orders to Don Pedro Eſtopinan Cabeca de Vaca, to ſet ſail with the ſquadron for Buenos Ayres, with the firſt fair wind; and, after ſending a party of his men, with ſix-and-twenty horſes that he had ſtill left, to wait for him on the banks of the Habucu, he took leave of the inhabitants of St. Catherine, whom he loaded with preſents, and many of whom thought proper to accompany him, both to ſerve

 him

him as guides, and take care he should want no provisions in his journey. He had still with him two hundred and fifty men, with whom he set out on the 8th of November, to join those he had already sent before him to the Habacu. After nineteen days march, during which his little army were often obliged to open themselves a road by dint of labour, they began to want provisions. But, being now arrived in a more populous country, they were soon met by a great number of Indians loaded with all manner of fruits and other provisions for their relief; and expressing, besides, the greatest pleasure at the sight of the new governor.

These were the Guaranis, who grew Maiz, of which they made the earth yield them every year two crops; and Manioc, with which they made Cassava bread. They, likewise, reared hogs, geese, poultry, and parrots. These Guaranis were of the same origin with those who lived on the eastern banks of the Paraguay, opposite to the Assumption; and both together form one of the most numerous and wide extended nations of the whole continent. It is even pretended, that they penetrated as far as the Maranon; that they rendered themselves formidable by their depredations, wherever they appeared; and that it was on this score they obtained their present name, which signifies a warrior. The *Chiriguanes*, who inhabit part of the Cordilliera of Peru; the *Tapez*, who had settled on the frontiers of Brazil; and even a great many Brazilians; and other nations we shall have occasion to mention hereafter, who speak the Guarani language; are, all of the same extraction; but all have not preserved the same dispositions, and are not equally fierce, and fond of human flesh; a difference owing to the roving or sedentary life they lead. Many of them treat their prisoners of war

like

like the Canadians. Moreover, they are all of very narrow intellects; and the greateſt obſtacle in civilizing them conſiſts in their almoſt inconceivable want of forecaſt, their ſurpriſing ravenouſneſs, and mortal averſion to any kind of labour.

Those, whom Don Alvarez firſt met with, appeared tolerably peaceable. He took poſſeſſion of their country for the crown of Spain, but without letting them know any thing of the matter; and gave it the name of *Provincia del Campo*. That he next entered, and which he likewiſe took poſſeſſion of, was pretty much of the ſame nature; and he called it after his family, *Provincia de Vera*; but theſe names ſubſiſt no longer. The firſt of December, he arrived on the banks of the *Iguazu*, a great river which falls into the Parana, between the 25th and 26th degree of ſouth latitude; and, on the third, diſcovered another, called *Cibogi*, whoſe bottom is paved with ſtones ſo large, and, withal ſo well laid, that one would be apt to take it for the work of art. It is, moreover, ſo very rapid, that the men and horſes could hardly keep their footing; ſo that they were obliged to be tied together, to croſs it with ſafety.

The good order obſerved by Don Alvarez, during his march, gained him, wherever he appeared, the eſteem and affection of the Indians. They, therefore, gave each other notice of his approach, and never failed coming to meet him with proviſions; which kindneſs he always acknowledged by paying them twice the value. His greateſt attention was to hinder any injury being offered them, or any thing being done, that might ſcandalize them. He never permitted any Spaniards to enter their villages, except thoſe who were to buy proviſions; and never ſent on this errand, but thoſe, whoſe diſcretion he could depend upon. The leaſt liberty, that any Spaniard took with

them, was ſeverely puniſhed. This his zeal to prevent the Indians being ſcandalized or otherwiſe injured, made him ſoon repent his having taken with him the two Friars, he intended to have left behind at St. Catherine's, as they did not always behave in a manner ſuitable to the holineſs of their character. They even ſeparated from him without his knowledge; and it was not long before he found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſending to look for them in a place, where he was informed their bad behaviour had made their ſituation very dangerous and diſagreeable.

He was met, ſome time after, by a Brazilian, named Michael, juſt returning from the Aſſumption, whither he offered to be his guide. Alvarez accepted his offer, and diſmiſſed the Indians who had hitherto ſerved in that capacity, with a handſome reward for their pains and fidelity. Towards the middle of December, he found himſelf in the latitude of 24 degrees; and, in a few days more, in a country covered with cypreſs and cedar trees, and others not known in Europe, whoſe trunks were all full of excellent honey; particularly pines of an extraordinary ſpecies, being four or five fathoms in circumference, and bearing nuts encloſed in ſhells pretty like cheſnut ſhells, but no bigger than acorns. Theſe nuts the inhabitants of the country made into a meal, which was one of their beſt foods. The hogs and monkeys, both very common in this country, likewiſe fed upon them; and the fleſh of the former acquired by it a moſt excellent flavour. A little farther, the Spaniards met with fields, where Maiz had been ſown; as, likewiſe white, yellow, and red potatoes. They afterwards entered a mountainous country, the vallies of which abounded with canes containing a very wholeſom and refreſhing water; and, likewiſe,

worms

worms of a finger's thickneſs, which, fried in their own fat, appeared to the Spaniards a moſt delicious repaſt.

Don Alvarez, after this, bent his march towards the Iguazu, in order to embark there, and fall down to its junction with the Parana; but, being informed, that it was hereabouts, the Portugueſe from Brazil, mentioned in the beginning of this book, had been maſſacred by the Indians, and that thoſe inhabiting the banks of a little river called *Pequeri*, which riſes within a ſmall way of the Iguazu, and falls into the Uruguay, lay in wait for him, he took with him but fourſcore men, ordering the reſt to march, by land, on both ſides of the river: On his entering the Parana, he found both its ſhores guarded by an army of Guaranis, with their bodies painted all over, and caps of feathers on their heads, who ſeemed reſolved to diſpute the paſſage with him; but he not only made them drop their arms by his engaging behaviour, but obtained conſiderable aſſiſtance from them. The Parana, in this place, is, about a bow-ſhot over, and very deep; notwithſtanding which its rapidity is ſo great as to produce whirl-pools, which render its navigation very dangerous. One of Don Alvarez's canoes was overſet by one of theſe whirl-pools, and a man in it drowned. This accident affected Don Alvarez the more, a he had not as yet loſt a ſingle man in his long and painful march from the ſea to this river.

Don Alvarez, before he entered the Parana, ſent to the Aſſumption, to deſire the governor might ſend him two Brigantines; and was ſo much the more ſurprized, not to find them at the place he had appointed, as he had mentioned in his letter, that a great many of his men were ſick, and the reſt very much fatigued. In this dilemma, therefore, he embarked, upon rafts, ſuch as were no longer in a condition to proceed by land, with fifty men to

defend them, in case they should be attacked. He then set forward himself with the rest; and was soon met by a Spaniard sent from the Assumption to enquire, if it was really true, that there was a new governor arrived from Spain; for, it seems, the inhabitants of that place could hardly be brought to believe so agreeable a piece of news.

1542. As Don Alvarez had sent notice of his arrival, he was greatly surprised at so singular a question. He had, however, command enough over himself, not to let any one know what he thought of the matter. Besides, the Guaranis made him more than amends for this disrespectful behaviour; for, wherever he came, he found the roads lined with men, women, and children, lifting their hands up to heaven, to bless God for having bestowed on them a governor, whom they, every where, heard so much good of. They brought him all manner of provisions, and even sent deputies to compliment him, which some performed in their own language, and some in the Spanish. On his nearer approach to the city, most of the inhabitants came out to meet him, and expressed their joy, on his safe arrival, in terms sufficient to convince him, that the province stood greatly in need of a man, like him, to govern it.

At length, he arrived at the Assumption, the eleventh of March, followed by a great number of officers and other gentlemen, who came out to compliment him. Irala received him at the head of the garrison, attended by the officers of the revenue, and the council of the province. Don Alvarez then produced his commissions, which, being read with a loud voice, Irala saluted him in quality of adelantade, governor, and captain-general of Rio de la Plata. Don Alvarez, on his side, confirmed Irala, in his post of king's lieutenant; and all the officers

officers of juſtice, in theirs; and every thing paſſed, in appearance, to the greateſt ſatisfaction of all parties. But the ſincereſt joy ſeemed to be that of the army, and the common people. The Spaniards, whom Don Alvarez had left to follow him on rafts, did not arrive in leſs than a month after him. They were attacked by ſome Indians, who attempted, with long poles armed with hooks, to draw the rafts aſhore, and would, perhaps, have ſucceeded in the attempt, if a chriſtian Cacique had not come to the aſſiſtance of the travellers, with all his warriors. The Barbarians, however, wounded ſome of the Spaniards, but the Cacique had their wounds very well dreſt, and took them home for ſome days, ſo that they all arrived in pretty good health and condition.

The fate of theſe travellers added new luſtre to the prudent conduct of the governor. It was deemed an incontestable mark of his ſuperior merit, and of his enjoying the ſpecial protection of heaven, that, after traverſing ſo great an extent of country inhabited by Barbarians, without meeting with any, but the moſt reſpectful and affectionate treatment, he had no ſooner ſeparated from part of his men, than thoſe, who ceaſed to have him at their head, began to find, in the ſame Indians, the moſt furious and inveterate enemies. But many of thoſe, who could not help allowing the juſtneſs of thoſe reflections, took no pains to benefit by his example; chuſing to conſider as a miracle, the manner in which the Indians behaved to him, rather than allow it to be the natural conſequence of virtues, which they were no way diſpoſed to imitate.

BOOK

BOOK II.

Zeal of Don Alvarez to re-eſtabliſh Buenos Ayres, which his predeceſſor had abandoned, and to civilize and convert the Indians, many of whom, particularly the Guaycurus, notwithſtanding his great moderation, he is obliged to bring to reaſon by force of arms. Account of the Guaycurus and their country. A conſpiracy againſt Don Alvarez; defeated. Expeditions up the Paraguay and the rivers falling into it, by him and his officers. Curious particulars of the countries viſited by them, and the neighbouring countries; eſpecially a rich country, greatly reſembling that ſo much talked of, under the name of Del Dorado. *Another conſpiracy againſt Don Alvarez. He is confined; ſent to Spain; and, at length, acquitted of the charges brought againſt him by the conſpirators. Don Dominick Martinez de Irala, declared governor by them; undertakes another expedition up the Paraguay. Revolution at the Aſſumption during his abſence.*

DON ALVAREZ heard nothing of the evacuation of Buenos Ayres, till his arrival at the Aſſumption; when, his firſt care, was to take proper meaſures for its re-eſtabliſhment. He immediately ſent two brigantines there; and, ſoon after, two others, and omitted nothing, to put in a good ſtate of defence, a place, whoſe importance he was thoroughly acquainted with. He zealouſly applied himſelf to gain the affections of the neighbouring Indians; and,

and, being fully perſuaded, that the beſt way to inſure ſucceſs to an attempt of this nature, and to attach them inviolably to the Spaniards, was to unite them together, in the bonds of one religion, he made this converſion the principal object of his attention. The firſt ſtep he took for this purpoſe was to aſſemble all the regular and ſecular clergy of the Aſſumption, in order to acquaint them, in the Emperor's name, that his Majeſty charged their conſciences with every thing relating to the propagation of the goſpel, in theſe dark countries; he then diſtributed amongſt them ſacred veſſels and ornaments for the altar, of which he had made an ample proviſion; and concluded by giving them his word, that he would ſupport them, with all his authority, in the functions of their miniſtry; and let them want for nothing, when the worſhip of God required his aſſiſtance.

Great complaints had been made to him, that the officers of the revenue, under pretence of leaving the Emperor's duties, treated the natives very cruelly. To remedy this abuſe, he aſſembled the men of greateſt note in his government, as well thoſe of the regular and ſecular clergy, as thoſe of the garriſon and the revenue, and with them the Caciques of the Guaranis, and their miſſionaries; and acquainted them, that it was the Emperor's intention, the Indians ſhould ſhew the greateſt reſpect to thoſe, who, in order to teach them the way to heaven, had been charitable enough to baniſh themſelves from their native country, and ſubmit to live among them; that as this great prince had nothing more at heart, than to make them happy during this life, and to ſecure to them everlaſting bliſs in the next, he had given him the ſtricteſt orders to ſee that they were well uſed by all thoſe they had to do with; and that he was reſolved, to pay the moſt punctual obedience to his Majeſty's in-

tentions in this respect; but that he expected, on the other hand, that they should behave to the Spaniards, in the same manner; and renounce the custom, which he, with the greatest horror, heard they were given to, of feeding upon human flesh. The Indians, upon this, assured him, that they should cheerfully obey his orders; and all withdrew, penetrated with respect, and equally charmed with his promises, and his gracious manner of making them.

Don Alvarez, in the next place, applied himself to repress the insolence of some Indian nations, who were constantly committing hostilities against the Spaniards. He began by the Agazes, or Algazes, who lived to the east of Paraguay, above the Assumption. These Barbarians, who had ever been the declared enemies of the Guaranis, were of the tallest stature, of a very treacherous disposition, to the last degree fierce and inhuman, and great robbers. The Spaniards, before the arrival of Don Alvarez, had made war against them with some success, and had obliged them to sue for peace, which, the Agazes, however, were resolved to observe, only till an opportunity offered of breaking it to advantage; and, they had, even already, began o renew their incursions. But they no sooner heard of the arrival of a new governor, with a fresh body of troops, than they sent him a deputation of three of their Caciques, to promise him the most perfect and unlimited obedience. The first of the deputies added, that it was not his nation, that had renewed the war, but some lawless young men, who had been severely punished for their insolence. Don Alvarez thought proper to appear satisfied with this apology, and received their countrymen into favour; but on condition, that they would no longer molest the Guaranis, or any other of the Emperor's vassals, threatening, that, in case they did, he would not, for the future, shew them the least mercy.

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The governor, though thus intent on ſecuring the peace of his province againſt its Indian enemies, did not forget the heavy complaints he had received of the revenue-officers, who exciſed every thing, and thereby reduced a great number of families to ſuch diſtreſs, that many of them had nothing left to purchaſe the moſt ordinary cloathing. He began, by ſupplying the moſt indigent, with what they wanted, at his own expence. He, next, ſuppreſſed ſuch taxes as the officers had eſtabliſhed, without a ſufficient authority for ſo doing; and being informed, that theſe men began to cabal againſt him, he ordered them to be confined, and proſecuted according to law.

In the mean time, the Guaranis and ſome other nations, who had ſubmitted to the Spaniards, made heavy complaints to him, of the *Guaycurus*. But, though he liſtened to them, with a great deal of goodneſs, he thought it his duty to examine if their complaints were well grounded, before he took any ſtep to redreſs them; he, therefore, charged the two eccleſiaſticks, and the two religious he had brought with him from St. Catherine's, to enquire into the matter; and, their report agreeing with the complaints of his Allies, he ſent back the two eccleſiaſticks, with fifty ſoldiers, to tell the Guaycurus, in his name, that he was very well diſpoſed to live in peace with them, and even receive them among the number of his friends, provided they would acknowledge themſelves vaſſals to the crown of Spain, and not moleſt thoſe Indians, who had done ſo already; otherwiſe, he would let them ſee, that he did not want force ſufficient to exact their compliance.

He even ordered his deputies to ſummon them three times, in this manner; but the Barbarians did not give them an opportunity of complying with his directions. After anſwering the firſt part of his

his meſſage, by declaring, that they never would acknowledge the king of Spain for their ſovereign; and that they were firmly reſolved to continue their hoſtilities; they deſired the deputies to withdraw, and even diſcharged ſome arrows at them, by which ſeveral ſoldiers were wounded. Don Alvarez thought it his duty, not to ſuffer ſo much inſolence to go unpuniſhed; and the 12th of July, 1542, he embarked upon two brigantines, with four hundred Spaniards, followed by ten thouſand Guaranis on two hundred rafts, for the oppoſite banks of the river. The 14th, all the troops were landed, and the governor ſent a detachment of Guaranis, to know how the Guaycurus were poſted. The Guaranis reported, that they were marching back to their towns, with all their families, hunting by the way, according to cuſtom, ſo that they retreated but very ſlowly. Upon this Don Alvarez gave orders to purſue them; and not to diſcharge any of their great or ſmall arms, or light any fires in the night time during the purſuit.

THE 15th, the allies began their march, in the following order. A proper number of ſcouts, preceded the main body, in order to make uſeful diſcoveries; and, by night, ſpies were ſent out, to examine where the enemy encamped. The Guaranis formed a battalion, whoſe front extended a whole league. They all wore caps made of feathers; and, on their foreheads, plates of a certain kind of metal, which, when the ſun ſhone upon it, caſt a great luſtre. The Spaniſh cavalry appeared next, at a little diſtance, followed by the governor, at the head of the infantry. The march was cloſed by carts full of Indian women, and the neceſſary ſtores. About the middle of the firſt day's march, a ſpy, belonging to the Guaycurus, came to acquaint the governor, that the Guaranis had conſpired to withdraw themſelves; and this intelli-

gence,

gence, whose author the Spaniards did not know to be what he really was, gave them some uneasiness. Don Alvarez, however, thought proper not to let the Guaranis know any thing of the matter; and, as the moon shone very bright, continued his march after night-fall, having first given the Spaniards orders to keep their matches lighted, and their arms in readiness against the first notice.

WHEN they had marched for some time in this manner, they arrived at a small, but very thick, wood, where the governor thought proper they should halt for the remainder of the night. But the Guaranis had scarce entered it, when a tyger, getting among them, caused some disorder in their battalion. The Spaniards, who, in consequence of the false notice they had received the day before concerning these Indians, entertained the most violent suspicions of their fidelity, took it into their heads, that they were now preparing to withdraw, or even attack them. They, therefore, immediately fired upon the body they formed, and wounded some of them. Upon this, the Guaranis all took to their heels, to gain a mountain in the neighbourhood; and, that very moment, as the Spaniards still continued the fire, two balls grazed the cheek of Don Alvarez, who had stept forward in order to put a stop to the disorder. His secretary tells us in his memoirs, that this shot had been levelled at him by some one or another, desirous of doing pleasure to Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, who could not bear the thoughts of being a subaltern in a province, where he had commanded in chief; and, unhappily for this officer's character, his subsequent behaviour has given all the reason in the world to believe, that his ruling passion was to have no superior, and that he was no way scrupulous in the choice of means to make himself independent. It has even been the opinion of several, that

that Don Juan de Ayolas, fell a sacrifice to his ambition.

Don Alvarez, however, continued to follow the Guaranis to the top of the mountain, where, on his first appearance, they all immediately gathered about him. He then set them right, by telling them, that the Spaniards, on seeing them in motion, thought they were going to desert them. The Guaranis answered, that, on their sides, they imagined the Guaycurus were coming to fall upon them, and that in gaining the mountain, they had nothing in view, but to take possession of an advantageous post to defend themselves. Don Alvarez then addressed himself to the Spaniards, strictly commanding them not to give the Guaranis the least cause of suspicion or complaint; taking notice, that, if so numerous a nation should declare against them, they would never be able to maintain their ground at the Assumption, as the Guaranis could easily unite with the Guaycurus to drive them out of it. He, at the same time, ordered the cavalry to march first; and, in this order, proceeded till two hours after night-fall, when the whole army halted a second time to take some rest and refreshment; after which they set out again, about eleven, in the greatest silence.

Some time after, one of the governor's spies came to inform him, that he had left the Guaycurus building themselves huts. This intelligence gave Don Alvarez the more pleasure, as he was afraid the vollies of small arms fired in the beginning of the night had been heard by these barbarians, and made them hasten their retreat. However, he ordered his troops to march but slowly, in order to arrive by day-break within sight of the enemy. He then distributed little crosses among the Guaranis, which he desired them to wear on their breasts or shoulders, that the Spaniards might distinguish

them

them during the engagement; ordered hay to be put into the horſes mouths to prevent their neighing; and directed the Guaranis to inveſt the Guaycurus, except for a ſmall ſpace towards the mountains, not chuſing to reduce them to deſpair, as he knew they would, in that caſe, ſell their lives at a very dear rate.

The Spaniards and Guaranis ſoon after got within hearing of the enemies drums, to the ſound of which these barbarians cried out with all their might; that they deſired all the nations of the world to come and attack them; that their numbers were but few, but that they were the braveſt men on the face of the earth; the lords of all its inhabitants, and of all animals. It is cuſtomary with them, to ſing in this manner every night, when they happen to be at war, and think the enemy at no ſmall diſtance from them. At day break, they quitted their camp, and laid themſelves flat on the ground; but the next moment perceived the army of the chriſtians. At this unexpected ſight, they immediately began to cry out, "Who are you that thus dare to approach us?" And the Guaranis having anſwered them, in their own language, that they were come to revenge the death of the Indians they had maſſacred. "Draw near then, replied the Guaycurus, we will ſerve you in the ſame manner;" and at the ſame time, darted fire-brands in the faces of the chriſtians. Then running to their huts for their bows and arrows, they fell upon Don Alvarez's forces with ſo much fury, that the Guaranis at laſt began to give way.

This governor upon this, having commanded Don Pedro de Barba to give the Guaycurus a diſcharge from his artillery; and Don Juan de Salazar to advance with the infantry, which he himſelf drew out in order of battle, ordered the charge to be ſounded with the uſual cry of *Santiago*. He

himſelf was to be ſeen every where among the foremoſt, ſtopping thoſe who endeavoured to cover him from the enemy; and this undaunted behaviour of his, along with the ſight of the horſes, which the Guyacurus were utterly unacquainted with, cauſed ſo great a conſternation among them, that, after ſetting fire to their cabins, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation to the mountain, through the opening that had purpoſely been left for them. Their number amounted to four thouſand. Some Spaniards having advanced too haſtily, while the cabins were on fire, two of them were killed; and the Guaycurus cut off their heads, after treating, in the ſame manner, two Guaranis whom they had taken priſoners in the beginning of the engagement. Don Alvarez purſued the runaways for ſome time. During the purſuit, one of them faced about; faſtened upon the neck of a trooper's horſe, who rode by the ſide of Don Alvarez; and never let go his hold, till he was killed; as were a great many others. The governor, at length, ordered a retreat to be ſounded; and, after a ſhort repoſe, marched back with all his army towards the Aſſumption.

Don Alvarez ſoon perceived, that he had a party of Guaycurus at his heels; for thoſe Indians, knowing it was cuſtomary with the Guaranis to retreat, without looking behind them, as ſoon as they carried off but an arrow or any ſuch ſlight thing from an enemy, and rambling different ways, were in hopes of picking up ſome of them by this means. But the governor, though with a great deal of pains, obliged the Guaranis to march in a body, and in good order, till they were got quite out of the reach of the enemy. The Spaniards made about four hundred priſoners of both ſexes, and all ages, on this occaſion; and, when there no longer appeared any enemies behind them,

broke

broke up and hunted all the reſt of the way home, ſo that they all arrived at the Aſſumption loaded with every ſort of game, that the country afforded.

Don Gonzalez de Mendoza, whom the governor had left to command there during his abſence, informed him at his return, that ſeveral Indian nations, alarmed by the war he had declared againſt the Guaycurus, had ſent deputies to know, if he would receive them as friends; in which caſe they even offered to join the Spaniards againſt all their enemies; but that theſe deputations appeared ſuſpicious to him; and that he even imagined the ſole deſign of them was to diſcover, if it was poſſible, to ſurprize the place, while the greateſt part of the garriſon was abſent; which determined him to detain the deputies. Don Alvarez, upon this, cauſed them to be brought into his preſence; and, not finding Don Mendoza's ſuſpicions ſufficiently grounded, treated them all with a great deal of kindneſs; and diſmiſſed them loaded with preſents to acquaint their caciques, that he was very willing to receive, as friends and vaſſals to the Emperor, all thoſe who were diſpoſed to live in peace with his allies.

This was not the caſe with the Agazes, of whom Mendoza made heavy complaints to Don Alvarez. Theſe traitors, on a ſuppoſition that the town had been left in a defenceleſs condition, had gathered about it, the very firſt night after the army's ſetting out; and, though they retreated on finding their intentions diſcovered, had committed, in their way home, great diſorders in the villages of the Guaranis. Don Alvarez, incenſed at this behaviour, ordered the hoſtages, which they had given him on his granting them a peace, to be hanged; but deferred till another time to puniſh them perſonally for this breach of their promiſe. The *Yapurnez* or *Itapurnez*, a roving unſettled people, in the

neighbourhood of the Guaycurus, who had hitherto been very troublesome to the Spaniards, behaved with more discretion; they came in of themselves to sue for peace; accepted it on Don Alvarez's own conditions; and have ever since inviolably observed them.

As the late defeat of the Guaycurus had not sufficiently terrified that fierce and numerous nation, to leave the Spaniards any great hopes, that they would not, on the first favourable opportunity, recommence hostilities; Don Alvarez resolved, once for all, to prevent any future uneasiness from that quarter. But, as it was no easy matter to make him despair of gaining, by fair means, those especially, whom he had convinced it was in his power to reduce by force; he thought proper not to employ the last, till the first should prove ineffectual. He, therefore, began by taking from the Guaranis such of the Guaycurus as had fallen into their hands, after declaring to both, that it was the Emperor's intention, that the prisoners of war should not be treated as slaves; and added, that he would severely punish whoever disobeyed his Majesty in this respect. Having, after this, cast his eyes upon one of the prisoners that had been brought before him, and whose figure and countenance spoke greatly in his favour, he ordered him to return home, and let his countrymen know, that he was still ready to receive them into the number of his friends, on the terms he had at first proposed to them. This man executed his commission so well, that all the inhabitants of his village set out along with him for the Assumption. As soon as they made their appearance on the opposite banks of the river, Don Alvarez sent canoes to ferry them over; and twenty of their principal men immediately embarked, in order to wait upon him. Having received them in a very friendly

friendly manner, he was told by one among them, who was commiſſioned to ſpeak for the reſt, that his nation had made war upon every other nation, and ſubdued them all; but that they now found the Spaniards to be braver than themſelves, and had, therefore, ſent him to deliver up their arms; that the governor might give them what orders he pleaſed, and that they ſhould chearfully obey them. The ambaſſador added, that the Guaranis had never dared to attack them alone; but that, notwithſtanding, they were willing to live in peace with them for the future, on the governor's account.

Don Alvarez made anſwer, that he was come into the country to prevail on the inhabitants to embrace the only religion that was true, and yield homage to the Emperor; and to eſtabliſh a laſting peace among the ſeveral nations, into which they were divided; that, if they would but promiſe him never to diſturb the peace, they might be ſure to obtain from him all the favour and protection they could wiſh for; and that he would reſtore them all the priſoners he and his allies had taken from them in the late engagement. He even delivered them, on the ſpot, all thoſe that were to be found at the Aſſumption; which made ſuch an impreſſion upon them, that they immediately ſwore inviolable allegiance to the Emperor. He then made them a great many preſents, and diſmiſſed them highly pleaſed with his diſcourſe, but more with his behaviour. As we ſhall be often obliged to ſpeak again of this nation, I think it my duty to take this opportunity of making the reader properly acquainted with it. He may judge, by what I am about to ſay of them, how neceſſary it was for the ſucceſſors of Don Alvarez to follow his example in dealing with the natives of this vaſt continent.

I SAID that the Guaycurus were a numerous nation; but it is only in comparison with most of those, who inhabit this part of the continent of America; for they are very far from being so in proportion to the vast tract of land occupied by them. It is true, that a great deal of their country is almost uninhabitable, being full of marshes when the rivers overflow, and so dry and parched up at other seasons of the year, that the ground is every where full of great clefts and crevices; and the inhabitants, to avoid perishing with thirst, are obliged to take post in the neighbourhood of some other marshes which never dry, and whose waters are very foul and turbid. The Guaycurus form three tribes; all of them, a cruel, fierce, intractable people, and very troublesome neighbours to the province of Paraguay, whose inhabitants often see their country settlements full of them, when they think them at the greatest distance; nay, they have often the assurance to offer to sale in one place what they have carried off from another. Drunkenness prevails among them to such a degree, as to almost destroy all the hopes the missionaries might otherwise entertain of being able to civilize them. They generally go quite naked, except the women, who wear a covering from the waste down to the calf of the leg. When the weather is very cold, which seldom happens in their country, they all wear short cloaks, with large caps made of skin, which they are always very ready to exchange with the Spaniards for wine or any other stronger liquor. They paint their bodies more or less, according to their age, and their rank in the army. The minute a child comes into the world, they bore its ears to hang to them some baubles; and, as fast as the hairs appear, pull them all out by the roots, except enough to form a tuft on the crown of the head, and two crowns, of which this tuft is the center,

center. But this ornament is peculiar to the males; for they do not leave a single hair on the heads of the girls. The boys are painted black till the age of fourteen; and, afterwards, red, till sixteen, when they obtain a bracelet, which they wear a little above the navel, a belt, and a net-work cap for their hair. Till this ceremony they are kept under great subjection, and any one may lay what commands he pleases upon them. It is customary to prick them early in several parts of the body; and, though this operation, in the manner they perform it, is extremely painful; children but four or five years old have been seen to apply for it very earnestly, and endure it with the greatest constancy.

BEFORE they give their children a name, they bore their lower lip to hang to it some trinket or other, which they call *Albata*. This ceremony is performed by their juglers, or old warriors. If there is any ornament in this, it is an ornament fit only for barbarians; but I am more inclined to think, they do it to appear more terrible; and it certainly answers this purpose; for, what with the different colours, with which they daub themselves; their almost total want of hair on their heads; and the odd form of what they keep; their want of eye-lashes, which they say they take off in order to see the better; their numerous ornaments of glass, shells, and metals, which they hang to their bells, and the jingle of which may be heard at a considerable distance; their ears and their lips bored and loaded with imaginary jewels; they make a most frightful figure, and such as strangers can scarce ever accustom themselves to.

BY the subjection, under which they keep their children, the boys are early enured to war, and the girls to labour; but, on this occasion, the laws of

nature, and the dictates of reaſon, are utterly diſregarded. They take no pains to form their heads or their hearts, or inſpire them with the leaſt reſpect or attachment to thoſe, from whom they received their beings; nay, they often have the inſolence, when ſtrong enough to ſtrike their parents, without having any thing to fear from the laws of their country. Their villages are but a kind of ſpacious barns, divided, by partitions, into three great rooms or halls, and covered with a roof, barely ſufficient to ſcreen them from the heat of the ſun; for the leaſt puff of wind is ſufficient to carry it away. The Cacique occupies the middle diviſion, with his family and his officers. Here likewiſe, all the arms of his ſubjects, are conſtantly depoſited. The ſubjects live on both ſides, where all the furniture appears, one thing a top of another, in the moſt diſorderly manner. The Cacique, whoſe dignity is hereditary, receives great honours from his ſubjects, who acknowledge in him an unlimited authority, and always obey his orders with the greateſt readineſs and punctuality. His children, as ſoon as they come into the world, are committed to the care of ſome truſty perſons, and ſent to ſome diſtant place, where, according to the ideas of the people, they are pretty well educated. During this courſe of education, they ſee their parents but very ſeldom.

The boys are admitted ſoldiers at ſixteen; and this firſt ſtep to military preferment is very painful. It is always ſome diſtinguiſhed veteran, who performs the ceremony. He, firſt, makes the candidate ſit down by him; and then begins to pull out, by the roots, the hairs that compoſe one of his crowns. This the boy muſt ſuffer without ſtirring, or making the leaſt complaint. He, next, pricks him all over the body, and even in the moſt private and ſenſible parts, with a ſharp pointed bone; and with the

the blood, that iſſues from the numerous punctures, rubs his head. Then, he ſeizes the tuft of hair on the crown of the patient's head; pulls it with all his ſtrength; ties it as hard as he can; and wraps it up in a net. To conclude, he rubs him all over the body with a red earth, and declares him ſoldier. The new ſoldier is henceforth treated with honour; no private perſon has, after this ceremony, any right to command him; and he may do what he pleaſes.

THE degree of veteranſhip is conferred at the age of twenty, it being ſuppoſed, that at twenty, a man has acquired his full ſtrength and vigour. The perſon, who intends to take this degree, cauſes his tuft to be cut off the evening before his reception; and the crown of hair that ſtill remains, to be reduced to a finger's breadth; after which, he rubs himſelf all over the body with melted wax, or fiſh greaſe. The night following, he paints himſelf from top to toe, with different colours; binds his head below the crown of hair that ſtill remains, with a bandage of red thread; covers all his body with little feathers prettily enough diſpoſed, and hangs to his belt little balls made with the ſame kind of feathers. Thus equipt, he takes into his hand a kind of drum, or rather balloon, well ſtuft with water; which he beats with a calabaſh, ſinging all the time, from day-break till about five in the evening. He, next, diſtributes among ſeven ſoldiers choſen by himſelf for this purpoſe, ſharp pointed bones, with which they, four or five times, prick his privities through and through. Then, to conclude the ceremony, they rub his head with the blood that iſſues from the wounds they have made.

THE life of a ſoldier among the Guaycuras is a very painful one, in peace as well as in war; they are conſtantly on the watch, that they may not be ſurprized by their enemies. Every town has a centinel

centinel placed on a little eminence, to give notice of every motion in the neighbourhood; and, at night, constantly sends out scouts, to scour the country; and, besides, places soldiers up and down, who never cease whistling, to shew that they are awake, and on their guard. They are all up at the first alarm, when those, who cannot bear arms, immediately fly to some place of safety, where it is impossible to track them, they leave so little impression behind them upon the ground they tread on. They scarce use any other diversion, but that of shooting at a mark, and are, of course, excellent marksmen. Besides their bows, arrows, and mancanas, they have a kind of knife made with the jaw-bone of a fish. They, every year, attack some one nation or another, besides the Spaniards, against whom they carry on a perpetual war. They generally kill all the men that fall into their hands; but preserve the boys, to marry them to their daughters, selling to their neighbours the children born of these marriages. They avoid, as much as possible, coming to hands with the Spaniards in the plains, because they have nothing to defend themselves against their fire-arms; but they have a hundred stratagems to attack them to advantage. They are so well mounted, that, when pursued, they soon reach posts, which they can easily hinder the Spaniards from penetrating. When they are told that the Spaniards are coming to attack them, they coolly answer, "let them come; when they have eat up all their biscuit, they must go as they came, to get a new stock."

The day a child is weaned, and the day it begins to run about with the rest, are both holidays in the town, where the child is weaned, or begins to run about; but the return of the Pleiades, which they call the *kids*, upon the horizon, is a general holiday observed by the whole nation. They prepare for

for it, by shaking their matts, and beating their partitions. The men, then, form themselves into one battalion; and the women into another; and fall upon each other pretty seriously. It is a diversion, if you please, but is a diversion fit only for barbarians. The boys and girls, likewise, exchange some cuffs, but merely for form-sake. These engagements are followed by races; and, then, both parties mutually wish each other an accomplishment of all their wishes, and, above all things, success against their enemies. The feast always terminates in drunkeness.

Every town mourns for the death of its Cacique, and that of his children, and nearest relations. This ceremony consists in observing a strict continence, for a longer or shorter time, in proportion to the rank of the deceased, or the people's affection for him; in fasting, that is, in not eating fish, which is the thing in the world, next to wine, these Indians are fondest of; in putting on a sorrowful countenance, and not painting either face or body. The Cacique, as often as he happens to be in mourning, changes the names of all his subjects. On the death of persons of distinction, they immediately butcher a certain number of men and women, to bear him company in the other world; nor do they find it a difficult matter to obtain victims; there are always enough to put in for this honour. The funeral is performed with great ceremony. The body is decked out with the finest trinkets they can get. Those of the Caciques, especially carry with them to the grave the most precious ornaments of the whole town. Nor is there any need of compulsion on the occasion; all pressing to give the deceased the sincerest proofs of respect and affection.

Polygamy is not known among the Guyacurus; but the bonds of matrimony are so very slight, that, when

when the parties do not like each other, they ſeparate without any further ceremony. In other reſpects they do not appear to have the moſt diſtant notions of that baſhfulneſs ſo natural to the reſt of mankind: thoſe actions which require moſt privacy, being among them performed in the face of the whole world. The girls who prove with child before marriage, either deſtroy their burthen in the womb, or lay violent hands upon it, the minute they are delivered of it, in the natural way. The condition of the women is very hard; they are treated like ſlaves, and never allowed a moment's reſpite. The girls follow the ſoldiers to the war, in order to wait upon them; and never meet with the leaſt indulgence. The huſbands never appear to give themſelves any trouble about their wives, but at their return from a campaign, when they preſent them with the ſcalps of thoſe they have ſlain, the only marks of victory they bring home along with them. The women deck themſelves out with theſe ſcalps, by way of celebrating the triumph of their huſbands, who on their ſide, adorn their heads with feathers, and their foreheads with plates of ſilver, or ſome other metal. The women likewiſe wear collars upon the occaſion; and, then, faſten their ſcalps to a poſt, about which they dance, ſinging all the time the praiſes of the conquerors.

When the Guaycurus think themſelves threatened with a ſtorm, they ſally out of their towns, the men armed with their mancanas, and the women and children howling with all their might; for, they believe, that, by ſo doing, they put to flight the devil that intended to excite it. Daily experience is not ſufficient to convince them of their miſtake; but, perhaps, they think that the devil would uſe them worſe, if they did not thus intimidate him by their cries and menaces. This is the only divinity they acknowledge, except the moon, and the conſtellation called the great bear, to which, however,

ever, it does not appear, that they pay any manner of worſhip. As they do not cultivate the ground, they live entirely on river and land game. Nothing comes amiſs to them. They eat lions, tigers, bears, and the moſt venomous ſnakes and vipers. Some people pretend, that they inure their conſtitutions to this kind of food, by the conſtant uſe they make of it from their infancy. Beſides, all the Indians of South America have very hot ſtomachs.

To return to Don Alvarez, he was now chiefly employed in taking proper meaſures to aſſiſt the Spaniards he had ſent, by ſea, from the Iſland of St. Catherine to Buenos Ayres; and, for this purpoſe, he, at laſt, diſpatched two brigantines, loaded with all manner of civil and military ſtores, and manned by one hundred men, under the command of Don Gonzalez de Mendoza. He, then, ſent a detachment of his troops againſt the Agazez, who ſuffered themſelves to be ſurpriſed, and loſt a great number of men, beſides fourteen priſoners, who were immediately hanged. This execution had its deſired effect. The whole nation implored the governor's mercy, and ſubmitted to all the conditions he thought proper to preſcribe, eſpecially when they heard of his having taken another meaſure, which ſpread his reputation all over the country; and rendered his name as terrible to the Indians, as it had been before dear to them.

He had received intelligence, it ſeems, that the ſon of the unfortunate Alexis Garcia was ſtill a captive among the Indians, who had killed his father, and carried off his treaſures; and thereupon ſent to beg they would return him their priſoner; but theſe barbarians butchered all his meſſengers, except one, whom they ſent back to acquaint him, that if he dared to preſent himſelf before them, they would treat him in the ſame manner they had done his deputies. Don Alvarez, incenſed at this affront,

front, ordered his nephew Don Alphonso Riquelmi, to pick out three hundred Spaniards, and a thousand Indians; and march against these barbarians, and make them sensible, that he was not to be insulted with impunity. Riquelmi, accordingly, set out; but found them upon their guard, in great numbers, and very advantageously posted. He charged them, however, so suddenly, that he immediately threw them into disorder, killed three thousand, and made four thousand prisoners. His victory, indeed, cost him something, for he lost fifty of his best men on the occasion.

Don Alvarez's joy for the success of this expedition was soon troubled by the arrival of four brigantines from Buenos Ayres, with Estopinan Cabeca de Vaca, and all the Spaniards, whom the governor had sent by sea from the island of St. Catherine. Don Estopinan acquainted the governor, that, on his arrival at Buenos Ayres, he found a letter there signed by Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, and Alphonso Cabrera, with orders to evacuate it, as the inhabitants were daily in danger of perishing by hunger, or the arrows of the Indians. He added, that five and twenty Spaniards had taken refuge on the coast of Brazil; that, had the assistance brought those left behind arrived but twenty-four hours late, they must all have inevitably perished, one way or another; that, his arrival having given the inhabitants some spirits, he had taken measures to alter the situation of the town, and remove all the Spaniards to the mouth of the river St. John; but, as winter came on in the mean time, and all the rivers had overflown their banks, he thought the only step he could take, was to conduct to the Assumption all his men, and all the remaining inhabitants.

Mendoza, who, as we just now said, had but just set out for the relief of Buenos Ayres, had been still

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more unfortunate, and run much greater risks. One of his vessels loaded with provisions was wrecked, and some of the crew drowned. The ship which carried himself, being moored close in shore to a tree, an earthquake threw the tree upon the ship, and, by that means, overset her. The rest of the brigantines suffered as much; and fourteen persons belonging to them were drowned or crushed to death, so that it was with great difficulty Mendoza reached the Assumption, where he soon after had the mortification of being present at a much more terrible disaster.

1543. On the fourth of February, 1543, an Indian woman, servant to one of the inhabitants, carelessly shaking her hammock, which happened to take fire, some of the sparks flew, unobserved, into the partitions of the room, which was of straw; so that in a few minutes, the whole house was in flames. The fire soon gained all those that surrounded it; and carried by a strong wind, soon reached the rest, and consumed two hundred. Its inhabitants had no time to save any thing but their arms; their very poultry, and most of their other domestic animals having been burnt. There remained but fifty houses, separated from the rest by water. Thus most of the inhabitants saw themselves, in a moment, without cloaths, without food, without furniture, or merchandize; and exposed, withal, for want of house room, to all the injuries of the weather; but they had a great resource left in their governor. He, first, provided against the most pressing necessities, and sent to all the Indian towns, to buy provisions at his own expence. He then furnished, with equal generosity, the money requisite to supply the other wants of the inhabitants, so that all the houses, which had hitherto consisted of nothing but straw, were, with inconceivable dispatch, rebuilt of earth.

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Don Alvarez soon received some news, that consoled him a little for such a train of disasters. In the month of November, of the preceding year, he had, conformably to his instructions, and, with the advice of his council, formed a resolution to remount the Paraguay as high as possible. He intended to have been himself of this expedition; but, as his presence was become, from day to day, more necessary at the Assumption, he thought he had better let somebody else, duly qualified for such an undertaking, make the first essay; and for this purpose cast his eye upon his lieutenant, whom he knew to be a man of resolution; and he was, besides, glad of having a genteel pretext to remove from the Assumption. He, therefore, told him, that he did not know any one fitter for an attempt, the success of which the emperor had greatly at heart; and gave him his word, that he would represent all the services he might render his majesty on the occasion, in the most advantageous light.

Don Alvarez earnestly recommended to him, if he could not get quite up to the source of the river, at least, to push as near it as he possibly could; to take an exact account of the different nations inhabiting its banks; to send, from time to time, parties of Indians, with some Spaniards, into the inland countries, and even penetrate, if possible, into Peru, as he had agreed with Don Christophero Vaca de Castro, to endeavour to establish a communication between that kingdom and Paraguay. Irala expressed great satisfaction at these marks of his general's esteem and confidence, and, being provided with three stout brigantines manned with ninety Spaniards, and a great number of Indians, and plentifully stored with provisions of every kind, set out the 20th of November, 1542; and, after remounting the river two hundred and fifty leagues by estimation, arrived at the mouth of the lake of

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the Xarayez, where he diſcovered a port on the weſtern ſhore, and called it *King's-Port*, becauſe he entered it on the Epiphany, or twelfth-day. After taking a little reſt here, he ſet forward by land towards the weſt, with all his Indians and Spaniards, except a ſufficient number, whom he left behind, to take care of the veſſels. He met on the road with ſeveral nations, who had a great deal of wrought gold and ſilver; but he could never diſcover whence they obtained it. However, he aſſured the governor at his return, that he might have eaſily penetrated that way into Peru, had he been in a better condition to awe the Indians, whom he every where met with. He even added, that thoſe in the neighbourhood of King's-Port longed greatly to ſee the Spaniards and their general among them; but, perhaps, he had reaſons of his own for making this laſt part of the ſtory.

Be that as it will, ſome time after Irala's return to the Aſſumption, Riguelmi arrived there, from his expedition againſt the murderers of Alexis Garcia; and Don Alvarez, at laſt, on the report of theſe two officers, reſolved not to defer any longer taking the ſame rout his lieutenant had purſued, and even to get nearer Peru, if poſſible. He had already built ten brigantines for this voyage; and having given orders to fit them out directly, he ſent Gonzalez de Mendoza to buy proviſions, in ſome Indian towns above the river, up the country of the Guaranis; but the Indians not only refuſed to ſell him any, but expreſſed great inveteracy againſt the Spaniards; upon which, Don Alvarez ſent Irala to his aſſiſtance, with orders, however, to employ careſſes and preſents, to engage them to do with a good grace, what the Spaniards could oblige them to do by force. This method ſucceeded; and two Caciques of theſe Indians followed Irala to the Aſſumption; did ho-

mage to the governor; and promised to obey, with the greatest punctuality, all the orders he might hereafter be pleased to give them.

Every thing was now ready for his departure, when he received intelligence, that the two friars, whom he had brought with him from the island of St. Catherine, were privately set out from the Assumption, with letters to the Emperor, accusing him of having filled the province with trouble and confusion, by the bad use he made of his authority. It is likewise said, that, in order to prevent a discovery of what they were about, they confined a number of Indian girls, whom they had been ordered to instruct; and carried them off with them. It is not known what they intended by so doing; but it is certain, that the Cacique of the town, whence the poor creatures had been taken, came to complain of so shameful an action to the governor; and the governor having immediately sent after their conductors, five and thirty girls were found with them. The friars had sent before them some Spaniards, who were to return with them to Spain, and a Brazilian, whom they had seduced from the governor's service, in which he was very useful to the Emperor. This man, it is probable, was to be their guide to the coast of Brazil, towards which, it seems, they had directed their course.

The Indian girls and their treacherous conductors being brought back to the Assumption; soon after their arrival, Don Alvarez was given to understand, that the revenue-officers were at the bottom of this villainous affair; and some letters, that were found upon the two friars, convinced him thoroughly of it. Upon this, therefore, he immediately ordered the criminals to be arrested; but, though he now saw how much he was to blame for having stopped the prosecution, he had ordered

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to be commenced against them the preceding year; and still more, for having released them from their confinement, his natural goodness again got the better of his justice, and blinded him to such a degree, as to prevent his reflecting, that there are certain crimes, which it is dangerous to punish by halves. However, he did less than half punish them, for he ordered them all to be set at liberty, on giving security for their good behaviour for the future. He, it is probable, feared, lest the slowness of a judicial prosecution against them might delay too long his intended expedition up the river. However, he parted them by taking along with him the Factor, Peter de Orantez, and the treasurer, Philip Caceres. He then appointed Don Juan de Salazar to command, during his absence, at the Assumption; his lieutenant, it is probable, being engaged elsewhere; and on the day of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin, whose church, consumed in the late conflagration, he had just rebuilt at his own expence, and had even helped to erect as a common workman, he took shipping with two hundred Spaniards, after having recommended, above all things, to Salazar, to have ready, against his return, a brigantine he had ordered to be built, with a view of sending her to Spain, with dispatches to the Emperor.

Don Alvarez was followed by twelve hundred of the bravest Guarani warriors in canoes; but his engaging manners seemed to render so much precaution needless. He made such considerable presents to all the Indians, in the towns he passed by, on both sides of the river, that they vowed perpetual friendship to the Spaniards, and religiously kept their promise. He ordered the two revenue-officers to travel by land, with two hundred Spaniards more, and an equal number of Indians, and wait for him at Candlemas-port; but Caceras, hay-

ing lost his horse the very first day, obtained leave to return home, and send his son in his stead. The 12th, the fleet entered Candlemas-Port, which, by an observation of the sun, was found to be in the latitude of 22 degrees and 40 minutes.

THE day following, seven Payaguas appeared on the banks of the river, and made signs to express their desire of speaking with the Spaniards. Don Alvarez, upon this, sent ashore to them seven Spaniards, with a Guarani, who, having been a slave among the Payaguas, could speak their language very fluently. The Payaguas asked the Spaniards, if they were the same that so often went up and down the river, and being answered in the affirmative, one of the Payaguas told them he would be glad to speak with their commander. He was, accordingly, conducted to Don Alvarez, who having asked him what he wanted, he answered, that his Cacique would be very glad to enter into an alliance with him; that he had still by him all the treasure he had carried off from the great captain Ayolas; and that he was ready to restore it, if the governor would but pardon the treachery he had been guilty of.

DON ALVAREZ having asked him in what the treasure consisted, he answered, in as much gold and silver, in bracelets, crowns, and other ornaments, as sixty-six Indians could carry. Upon this, Don Alvarez desired the Indian to assure his Cacique, that he was come into the country, by order of the Emperor, to pacify all the nations that inhabited it; pardon past offences; offer his protection to such of the natives, as were willing to declare themselves his vassals, and live upon good terms with his subjects; and that, if his Cacique was disposed to accept these conditions, he might come to see him in the greatest safety, and should have all the reason in the word to be well pleased with his reception.

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He then gave the meſſenger ſome preſents for his Cacique, and ſome for himſelf, and aſked him when he might expect to ſee him again, and his Cacique. The Payagua anſwered, the day following; and was then reconducted to the place where he had been taken up.

Some days, however, having paſt, without the governor's hearing any thing of either of them; his Guarani interpreter, to whom he expreſſed his ſurprize at it, told him, he imagined it would be to no purpoſe to wait for them any longer; that there was not a more ſuſpicious or treacherous nation on the face of the earth, than the Payaguas; that all the Cacique aimed at by this meſſage, was to gain time and amuſe him; that, in his opinion, he would do well to purſue them; that, as they were heavily loaded, it would be no difficult matter to come up with them; that to judge by what he knew of the country, they would not halt, till they arrived at a lake well ſtored with fiſh, in the centre of a very fine country; and which had been well peopled, before the Payaguas had murdered its inhabitants. Don Alvarez took the Guarani's advice, and cauſed himſelf to be put aſhore, with great part of his troops, at the mouth of a river, by which the lake empties itſelf into the Paraguay. Before he could reach this river, he obſerved a pretty numerous body of Indians, who, his interpreter informed him, were the Payaguas endeavouring to make their eſcape; but, though he followed, for eight days together, the courſe of this river, and made the tour of the lake from whence it iſſues, he could meet with none of them; and, therefore, judging that it would be to no purpoſe, to proceed further in queſt of ſuch a roving, unſettled people, he made the beſt of his way back to Candlemas-port.

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Here Don Alvarez embarked again, leaving behind him Mendoza, with instructions, which probably regarded the Payaguas. The banks of the river in this place are covered with different kinds of fruit-trees, particularly the cassia tree. A little higher, it is rendered exceedingly rapid by two rocks, which, projecting from the opposite shores, greatly strengthen the channel. The Spaniards caught here great plenty of Goldenies, some weighing fifteen pounds. The flesh of this fish is both very wholesom, and very well tasted. It is even pretended, that the water, in which it has been boiled, is a sovereign remedy against the itch, and the leprosy. Mendoza now rejoined the governor, who, having discovered a great stir among the Indians, alarmed, no doubt, at the sight of so numerous a fleet, ordered him to quiet them. He himself entered into a conference with the *Guaroropos*, and made them promise not to molest such of his people, as he might leave behind; but these barbarians broke their word, which, however, Fernandez pretends his countrymen gave them sufficient provocations not to keep.

In this latitude, the river overflows to such a degree, when the sun has reached the tropic, that it lays under water more than an hundred leagues of country on both sides; so that, according to the author just now cited, canoes pass freely over the highest trees. These inundations last four months; the waters begin to fall towards the end of March; and leave behind them a prodigious quantity of fish, which, by putrefying, infect the air, and render the country very sickly; but when the waters are quite dried up, the Indians repair, in great numbers, to the river; live upon the fish with which it abounds, and spend their whole time in mirth and diversion.

Don Alvarez, who found them there, would not permit any of his people to have any dealings with them, though he received with great kindneſs ſeveral of them who came to wait upon him, and even made them ſome preſents. The 25th of October, he arrived at a place, where the river divided, to the left, into three branches, the middlemoſt reſembling a great lake, which, a little higher up, unite again. A little higher up, and on the ſame ſide, is another river, formed by a great many ſtreams, which, by their inoſculations, compoſe a labyrinth, out of which the Indians of the country find it no eaſy matter to extricate themſelves. This river they call *Iguatu*, which ſignifies *good water*. Don Alvarez entered it, after planting croſſes to let thoſe who followed him know the rout he had taken. The 8th of November, having aſcended and deſcended all theſe rivers, he returned to the Paraguay, and found himſelf oppoſite ſeveral bald and lofty mountains, of a reddiſh colour, in the form of bells; where he was informed, a kind of white metal was to be found. Between this and King's-Port, the river was ſo low, that his men were obliged to get into the water, and, by force of arms, help the brigantines over ſome ſhallows, about a croſs-bow ſhot in length.

The governor, on entering the port, found there before him, a great number of Indians, who impatiently waited his arrival, and received him with the greateſt demonſtrations of joy. On his ſide, he treated them with the greateſt kindneſs; and, being informed that they adored idols, a thing that had not as yet been obſerved, among any of the other nations of this continent, he earneſtly exhorted the ſecular and regular clergy, who accompanied him in this expedition, to omit nothing to open their eyes, and bring them over to the knowledge of the true God. He even ſpoke to them,

himſelf, of the weakneſs of theſe dumb and blind divinities; and at laſt prevailed on them, to give up theſe objects of their worſhip to the flames; notwithſtanding the great apprehenſions they at firſt ſeemed to be under, leſt the devils ſhould puniſh them ſeverely for it. This done, Don Alvarez cauſed a croſs to be erected, and built a chapel, where maſs was ſung with great ſolemnity, to the no ſmall ſatisfaction of the Indians. After this ceremony, he took poſſeſſion of the whole country, for the crown of Spain; and, perhaps, there is not any in all this vaſt province, in which it was more the intereſt of the Spaniards to make a ſolid eſtabliſhment, and which, notwithſtanding, they have more neglected, as will appear in the courſe of this hiſtory. Don Alvarez having by this perceived, that the Indians took offence at the Spaniards penetrating into their towns, forbid it, directly, under the ſevereſt penalties.

THESE Indians cultivate the earth; grow ſeveral kinds of excellent fruit, manioc and maiz, of which laſt, they make the earth yield them two crops a year. Fiſhing, fowling, and hunting are another great reſource. They likewiſe breed geeſe, and cocks and hens, though not entirely for the ſake of their fleſh; for they make uſe of the firſt to rid themſelves of graſshoppers, whoſe chirping, it is probable, they do not like; and the latter, by having them at night, to ſecure themſelves from the attacks of a certain ſpecies of large bats, the ſame, perhaps, as we have before mentioned. Theſe bats are a very dangerous creature, as Don Alvarez himſelf experienced to his coſt. One night, as he lay ſleeping in his brigantine, with one of his feet uncovered, one of theſe birds, not only bit the tip of his great toe, but ſtript the under part of it entirely of the ſkin, without awakening him; ſo that, before he awoke, his bed was full of

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blood. But it is upon the ears of horſes, and the dugs of newly littered ſows, which they firſt ſuck, and then gnaw to the very roots, that theſe terrible birds principally faſten. The horſes know them, ſo that, on their getting into a ſtable, the poor creatures in it, become downright furious. Fernandez, who relates theſe facts, has forgot to tell us in what manner the cocks and hens free the Indians from theſe troubleſome animals.

NEITHER this author, nor Herrera have taken the trouble to acquaint us exactly with the ſituation of King's-Port; and it is merely by induction, and by following Don Alvarez in the rout he took to enter it, that we may, without apprehending any miſtake, place it at the entrance into the lake of the Xarayes, on its weſtern ſhore, and oppoſite to the iſland of the Orejones; and this is the ſituation already given to it by the famous William de Lille, the only geographer I know, who has mentioned it in his maps; for the Spaniſh geographers have, all, omitted it. The journals of thoſe, who have ſince attempted to penetrate from Paraguay into Techo makes the length of the iſland in this lake, thirty miles; and its greateſt breadth, fifteen.

THIS iſland, it is ſaid, derives its name from that of a Peruvian nation, called *Orejones*, becauſe they bore their ears; many of whom, it is pretended, took refuge here at the conqueſt of Peru; and it is probable, that the Spaniards under Don Alvarez were the firſt to give it the name of the *Iſland of Paradiſe*. If what all the memoirs I have peruſed ſay of it, is true, it is very well intitled to that appellation; for though ſituated in the torrid zone, between the fifteenth and ſixteenth degrees of latitude, it enjoys the moſt temperate weather all the year round; owing to the winds which blow there conſtantly every day at regular hours, and a great

great number of rivulets, with which it is watered. Its fields produce, without culture, the moſt excellent fruits; and the difference between the ſeaſons being ſcarce ſenſible, every month is equally fit to ſow or reap in. The diſpoſitions of the inhabitants greatly reſemble the air they breathe. They do not cultivate the vine, but make a very wholeſom and agreeable liquor, with their honey. Here is, likewiſe, the greateſt plenty of every kind of game, both fiſh, fowl, and four-footed animals. All theſe advantages, joined to the conſideration of its lying but a league from King's-Port, engaged the Spaniards to requeſt their governor to form an eſtabliſhment there.

NOT to ſpeak of the beauty of this place, and the mildneſs of its climate, there were, one would imagine, many other reaſons ſufficient to determine Don Alvarez to fortify it, and leave a garriſon behind him to defend it. It was the beſt ſtep he could take to eſtabliſh a correſpondence between Paraguay and Peru, which he had ſo much at heart; and we ſhall ſee hereafter, how much the court of Spain has ſuffered, even in Paraguay, by having neglected ſo important a poſt. Don Alvarez had too much ſenſe, not to ſee, himſelf, the neceſſity there was to ſecure the poſſeſſion of it; but he had no more men along with him, than what were abſolutely neceſſary to continue the diſcoveries, with which he had been charged; and he could draw no more from the Aſſumption. Beſides, he could not foreſee thoſe events, which afterwards prevented his taking all the ſteps the ſervice of the Emperor, and the good of his province required. But, be that as it will, the ſoldiers, the veterans eſpecially, murmured greatly at his preparations to quit theſe charming places. "To what purpoſe," they publickly exclaimed, "are we to remain always in ſavage countries, waſte our-
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felves with fatigue, and be perpetually running from one danger into another, without having any thing we can call our own. What do we look for in defarts, in mountains, and in countries covered with water, where none but Canibals are to be met with; and, while we can fee nothing but our countrymen daily perifhing by ficknefs and the arrows of barbarians, what can we expect but the fame fate? Let us learn to be wife at their expence; and, without going further in queft of chimerical treafures, which feem to fly us in proportion as we purfue them, let us feize upon the happinefs, with which providence now prefents us; of what fervice could the gold, with which we are amufed, be to us; what can we hope to purchafe with it, better than what we actually poffefs?"

A GREAT many others, however, were of opinion, not to renounce the hopes of meeting with mines, or difcovering a road to Peru, though they allowed it was proper to make an eftablifhment at King's-Port, to ferve as an Entrepot, and facilitate the communication between the two kingdoms. All, therefore, unanimoufly united to prevail on the governor to confent to this eftablifhment, and the oldeft fpoke, in the name of the reft. But Don Alvarez, not a little provoked at their earneftnefs, anfwered them in the following words. "Are thefe men Spaniards" faid he, "whom I hear fpeak in this manner? Have we left Spain, and travelled fo far, in fearch of land, and there to fpend our days obfcurely in idlenefs and luxury? we might have done all this, without leaving our own country. Methinks I fee a parcel of children, who, for the fake of a few apples, neglect treafures, whofe value they are not acquainted with. The Emperor, our mafter, has fent us into this new world, to conquer empires

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for him, and ſecure to him the poſſeſſion of the riches they contain; were we to loſe our lives, or ſpend our days in fatigues much greater than thoſe we have already gone through, both duty and honour oblige us to juſtify the confidence this great prince has repoſed in us. I know the extent of your obligations, as well as my own; I ought to ſhew you good example; and you will follow it, if you deſerve the name you boaſt of."

Soon after this, Mendoza arrived with the reſt of the fleet, and informed the governor, that the Guaroropos, with whom he flattered himſelf he had made a laſting alliance, had attacked the brigantine commanded by captain Auguſtin de Campos; that five Spaniards had been killed at the firſt onſet; and Juan de Bolanos drowned, in attempting to make his eſcape by ſwimming; that theſe traitors had afterwards ſet out to prevail on the Indians in the neighbourhood of King's-Port, to join them againſt the Chriſtians, who, they affirmed, had neither ſtrength nor courage enough to reſiſt them; and that there was great reaſon to dread a general conſpiracy of all theſe nations. Don Alvarez, at the ſame time, received intelligence by Hector d'Acuna and Anthony Correa, whom he had ſent with ten or twelve ſoldiers, to invite the Xarayes, to conclude a treaty of alliance with him; that, after traverſing ſome overflown countries, where they ſuffered a great deal for want of proviſions, they at laſt joined a party of theſe Indians, whom their Cacique had ſent to meet them with refreſhments; that, after travelling a little further, they found upwards of five hundred more, decked out, in their way, with the moſt beautiful feathers, who were likewiſe come out to meet them, and conducted them to their town, where the Cacique gave them a very friendly reception, and acquainted them, by the mouth of

of a Guarani interpreter, that he would be very glad to see their general, of whom he had heard a great many fine things; that, upon this, they assured him, they were come from their general to declare to him, that he was willing to be his friend, and that of all his nation; that the Cacique replied, that nothing would give him greater pleasure; that he could not give their general any great information concerning the country he intended to traverse; but could supply him with an interpreter who had travelled a great deal that way, and might be of considerable service to him.

THESE Xarayes were settled at some distance from the lake of the same name; but there are others who live constantly on its banks, or greatly frequent them; they have been always extremely attached to the Spaniards; are a very good kind of people; cultivate the earth; and have grain and cotton in abundance. Don Alvarez received the Cacique's offers very graciously; and, leaving his brigantines to the care of one hundred Spaniards under John de Romero, set out on his march westwards. After five days march, during which there was no travelling but by cutting a passage through woods and bushes, he reached the banks of a river, whose water was, at the same time, very warm and very transparent.

THUS, Don Alvarez was but little the better for his guide; for, though several nations sent deputies to wait on him with compliments and provisions; and he always very generously paid for the latter; others of them attempted to oppose his passage; but he soon brought them to reason. He had now travelled a great way, when he was informed by his scouts, that there had just sallied out of a town, at no great distance, five thousand men, very well armed, who seemed disposed to attack him; and, in fact, he had scarce

time

time to prepare for their reception, when they arrived within ſight in order of battle. But, at the martial appearance of Don Alvarez's forces, they immediately diſperſed, leaving their town to the diſcretion of the Spaniards, who immediately entered it, and found it to conſiſt of eight thouſand cabins, in the center of which ſtood a tower terminating in a pyramid, built with large pieces of timber and covered, from top to bottom, with palm tree bark.

THIS was the temple and reſidence of a monſtrous ſerpent, whom the inhabitants had choſen for their divinity, and fed with human fleſh. He was as thick as an ox, and ſeven and twenty feet long, with a very large head, and very fiery though ſmall eyes. His jaws, when extended, diſplayed two ranks of crooked fangs. The whole body, except the tail which was ſmooth, was covered with round ſcales of a great thickneſs. The Spaniards, though they could not be perſuaded by the Indians that this monſter delivered oracles, were exceedingly terrified at the firſt ſight of him; and their terror greatly increaſed, when, on one of them having fired a blunderbuſs at him, he gave a roar like that of a lion, and with a ſtroke of his tail ſhook the whole tower. However, they found it no hard matter to make an end of him; and then, as if this exploit, and the taking of a defenceleſs town, had exhauſted all their courage, moſt of them declared, that they could proceed no further.

DON ALVAREZ, who now thought himſelf at no great diſtance from Peru, was pretty much embarraſſed what courſe to take; and, therefore, thought proper to call a council, before he attempted to revive the courage of his ſoldiers. The council were unanimous for his marching back, and he yielded to their advice ſo much the more

readily,

readily, as the misbehaviour of the revenue-officers contributed as much to discourage the soldiers, as the fatigues of the voyage and the uncertainty of its success. The soldiers had got some plunder in the town they were now in possession of, and these gentlemen levied the fifth of it for the Emperor. They even pretended that all manner of game was subject to the same duty. The governor produced his instructions, in which his Majesty gave up this right; and, as the officers still insisted on it, he told them, that, if they should ever be called to an account for having being too indulgent on the occasion, he would indemnify the royal treasury at his own expence. But he found it impossible to contain them for any time, or some other malecontents, whose numbers were considerably encreased by the exact discipline he made all, without exception, observe; and, therefore, gave orders for an immediate retreat.

At his arrival at King's-Port, he heard, that most of the neighbouring Indians, and even the Orejones, had conspired to fall upon the Spaniards and their allies the Guaranis, to whom, it now appeared, they never brought any provisions, but with a view of examining their situation and motions; several had, even openly, declared themselves, especially the Guaroropos, who had invited some other nations to join them in order to extirpate these new comers. Upon this, Don Alvarez sent for the Indian chiefs; put them in mind of the treaty he had concluded with them; asked them if he had not paid for all the provisions they had brought in, and always added some presents to the price of them; adding withal, that, if after all this kind usage they should forget themselves so far as to attempt any thing against him, he was strong enough to make them repent it. This resolute though mild declaration, had so far its

effect,

effect, that they all promised whatever he required; after which he dismissed them loaded with presents.

But they kept their word very ill; for, in a short time after, there scarce remained ten or twelve days provisions in the camp. Some Indians, upon this, assured the governor, that, at nine leagues from King's-Port, there were some nations, who had provisions in plenty. He, therefore, sent Mendoza escorted by a strong party, to them with orders to tell them, that he had heard a great deal of good of them, and was, therefore, surprized they had not as yet sent deputies to make an alliance with him, and put themselves, after the example of so many other nations, under the Emperor's protection. Mendoza was then to call for some provisions, and offer more than the value for them; and if, after several summons, they refused to comply, employ force; but yet do it with the greatest moderation and circumspection possible.

In the mean time, the Orejones, whose friendship Don Alvarez found it no difficult matter to recover, informed him, that by ascending the *Iguatu*, he should meet with very rich and numerous nations, who would put him in the way of making several important discoveries. Upon this, he dispatched fifty-two of his best men under the command of captain Fernandez de Ribera, with orders to take an exact account of all the particulars he might learn; to omit nothing to gain the good will of the inhabitants; and, for that purpose, not to be sparing of presents, with which he abundantly supplied him.

Some time after the departure of this captain, the governor received a letter from Mendoza, that all the inhabitants of the country, where he had sent him, were enraged against the Spaniards, and firmly resolved not to suffer them in the coun-

try;

try; that he had been attacked by a great number of theſe barbarians, and muſt having fallen a victim to their fury with his whole detachment, had he not ordered ſome blunderbuſſes to be diſcharged at them, by which two were killed, and the reſt ſo terrified, that they immediately fled to the mountains; that, after their retreat, he had entered their towns, where he found a great deal of proviſions, which he ſent them word he was ready to pay as much for, as they themſelves thought proper to require; but that, inſtead of liſtening to reaſon, they returned in great numbers; ſet fire to their houſes, and even ſent to invite their neighbours to their aſſiſtance. In anſwer to this letter, Don Alvarez ordered Mendoza to omit nothing to make them liſten to reaſon; and, if he ſaw no proſpect of ſucceſs, to go ſomewhere elſe in queſt of proviſions. To this, Mendoza replied, that theſe people were become from day to day more intractable, and that the Guararopos were already come to their aſſiſtance.

1544. The twenty-fourth of January, of the following year, Francis de Ribera arrived at King's-port with his guide, the ſix Spaniards, and three out of the eleven Guaranis, the governor had ſent along with him. Don Alvarez was overjoyed to ſee him, as the other eight Guaranis, who had fled back in a panic, to the camp, had given him to underſtand, that the reſt of the party had been all cut to pieces. Ribera reported, that, at firſt, he marched for the ſpace of twenty days, to the weſt, by ſuch bad roads, that he ſometimes could not make above half a league a day; that he never came ſhort of fowl, hogs, and antas, which the Indians killed with their arrows, and ſometimes even with ſticks; that he likewiſe found a great deal of honey in the hollows of trees, and every where plenty of

wild fruits; that, about the twentieth day he arrived on the banks of a river, where he caught some shads of an exquisite taste; that, after crossing this river, he met with an Indian, who wore a chin-piece of silver, and ear-rings of gold; that, having shown the man who came out to meet him, a brass candlestick, and asked him if there was any such metal in his country, he answered, that there was some of the same colour, but much more beautiful, and which, besides, did not stink like his; that having then produced a plate of tin, the Indian told him, that his white metal, likewise, was much finer; that they made of it crowns, bracelets, plates, and pails, and several other utensils; that, this man, taking him by the hand, and making signs to him to follow him, he soon after spied a large house, from whence they were removing a great deal of cotton clothes, and several pieces of furniture, among which he perceived bracelets, hatchets, and several things of that kinn, all made of silver; that he was very well received in this house, which proved to be that of his conductor, who ordered his guests to be be served with wine made of maiz; that the slaves, who attended them, gave them to understand, that there were other Indians in the neighbourhood, called *Payzunoez*, and among them were some christians, the only name these Indians give the Spaniards; that there appeared, the next moment, some men painted all over, and armed with bows and arrows; that the master of the house took up arms on their arrival; that the Spaniards observing a great deal of bustle among them, concluded their lives to be in danger; that, upon this, he ordered his men to go out; and, on pretence of going to look for more Spaniards, make their retreat the same way they had advanced; that he and his men had scarce left the house, when

when upwards of three hundred Indians appeared with a very threatening air, which determined him to make, with all his men, the best of his way to a mountain in the neighbourhood; that the barbarians pursued them, so that it was with great difficulty they gained the mountain, most of them having been wounded in the retreat; that, the barbarians, however, pursued them no further, for fear, he supposed, of meeting with more Spaniards; that, by this means they got time to recover the road by which they had arrived, which the eight Guaranis, who arrived before them, had probably recovered at the first alarm.

It has been since discovered, that these Indians, called by Herrera *Taropeaciez*, were no enemies to the Spaniards; but, on the contrary, a very peaceable people, and very hospitable to all strangers passing through their country, to whom they are very liberal of gold, silver, and provisions; but that the sight of the Guaranis had exasperated them, as these Indians had formerly committed great ravages, and killed a great many persons, in these districts.

In the mean time, almost all the Spaniards, now united at King's-Port, were fallen sick, owing, it was imagined, to the great inundations which rendered the waters very muddy and unwholesome. The Indians, therefore, no longer kept any measures with them; surprized some that had wandered to too great a distance from the camp; and then killed and devoured them. Don Alvarez, who likewise began to be greatly out of order, recalled Mendoza, who informed him, that all his soldiers were ill of the fever, and that he would embark with them, as soon as he could gather provisions enough; a thing he found from day to day more difficult to accomplish. Upon this, the governor exerted himself to send Mendoza a

 reinforcement,

reinforcement, which at length enabled him to compel the Indians to ſell him, at leaſt, proviſions enough for his return.

The thirtieth, Fernandez de Ribera arrived likewiſe at King's-port; but finding the governor indiſpoſed, and hearing beſides, that he was upon the point of ſetting out on his return to the Aſſumption, he thought he had better wait till their arrival there, to give him an account of his diſcoveries. Don Alvarez, however, had not as yet renounced all thoughts of purſuing thoſe he had begun himſelf; but, beſides the ſickneſs, which daily encreaſed, the Paraguay and other rivers in the neighbourhood had overflowed to ſuch a degree, that the whole country looked like one great ſea, the lowlands being covered with water to the depth of five fathoms. The Indians informed him, that theſe inundations generally laſt four months, and are commonly followed by an infection in the air, occaſioned by the great quantity of fiſh the waters leave behind them, to putrefy by the great heat of the ſun. They added, that thoſe who did not take care to lay in a ſufficient ſtock of proviſions againſt this ſeaſon, were often reduced to ſo great a degree of want, that the ſtrongeſt killed the weakeſt to ſupport nature by feeding on their carcaſes.

The governor was very far from being in a condition to wait for the fall of the waters; and, beſides, conſidered, that, did he defer ever ſo ſhort a time returning to the Aſſumption, ſickneſs would infallibly carry off all the ſoldiers he had ſtill left; he was even ſo bad himſelf, that his life was thought to be in no ſmall danger. He, therefore, aſſembled his council, to deliberate with them upon the courſe propereſt to be taken in theſe conjunctures; and all agreed to embark without any further delay. Upon this, he immediately ſent notice to all the Indians,

Indians, who had given hoſtages to him as a ſecurity for their fidelity, to come and withdraw them; and, to hinder the Spaniards from murmuring at this ſtep, he produced an order from the Emperor, not to carry off himſelf, or permit others to carry off, the Indians by force out of their country.

THESE orders gave ſuch offence to the Spaniards, that the governor's firmneſs in cauſing them to be directly obeyed, contributed not a little to increaſe the number of his enemies, which were already but too numerous. The revenue-officers had, for a long time paſt, conſpired his deſtruction, and taken the ſureſt meaſure to ſecure ſucceſs to their wicked deſigns. The diſcontent among the troops, who had followed him in his laſt voyage, and with which they flattered themſelves they ſhould ſoon ſee the reſt infected, appeared to them a lucky incident to remove one of the greateſt obſtacles they had to ſurmount. Be that as it will, Don Alvarez embarked very much out of order, having ſcarce a ſingle man left, capaple of working his veſſels, and much leſs of defending them, if warmly attacked. The Indians, who were no ſtrangers to his weakneſs, purſued him for ſome days; but being fired upon, when they drew too near, they let him reach the Aſſumption, where he arrived the 8th of April, 1544, without loſing, in ſo long a voyage, but a ſingle Spaniard, called Miranda, who being on a kind of raft, was wounded with an arrow by the Guararopos, and killed on the ſpot.

ON his arrival, he found Salazar, who commanded during his abſence, very buſy in making preparations to extirpate the Agazes, who had done nothing ſince his departure but plunder the country ſeats of the Spaniards, and the towns of the Guaranis; and butcher all thoſe that were unfortunate enough to fall into their hands. But, as

the caraval was ready, which the governor had ordered to be built at his ſetting out, and he was reſolved to go on board it the moment his health would permit him; and, beſides, the diſpoſition, in which he muſt know ſeveral perſons were in regard to him, made him every moment apprehend a domeſtic war, he thought it would be imprudent to embark during a foreign one; and, therefore, deferred the chaſtiſement of the Agazes to another opportunity.

Don Alvarez, after all, did not as yet comprehend the greatneſs of the danger, with which he was threatened; perhaps he relied ſo much on his own innocence and virtue, for protection againſt the wicked deſigns of his enemies, that he took no care to check their fury, and ſtop its progreſs; or knew too little of the motives of their inveteracy againſt him. It was well known, that he ſtill intended to re-eſtabliſh Buenos Ayres; and thoſe, who had ſeized upon all authority during his abſence, ſo as to leave nothing but the ſhadow of it to his delegate, were reſolved to do all that lay in their power, to render abortive any meaſures he might take for that purpoſe. It is, in a manner, certain, that they had reſolved to render themſelves independent of the court; and, to accompliſh their deſigns, it was abſolutely neceſſary, they ſhould firſt rid themſelves of the only man, who could ſucceſsfully oppoſe them. Be that as it will, there is not, perhaps, a more ſignal proof of the ſpecial protection of heaven on the virtuous Don Alvarez, than his enemies not having taken the ſhorteſt and ſureſt method to put him out of the way. This would have coſt them but a ſingle crime, whereas the method they purſued, was no better than a tiſſue of fraud and villainy, of which they could not expect to avoid the puniſhment, but by an open rebellion, the ſucceſs of which muſt be very uncertain.

As they could not but know, that the bulk of the inhabitants, and the foundeſt part of the army were extremely attached to him, they began by ſpreading a report, that he had formed a deſign of enriching all thoſe who had followed him to the Indies, at the expence of the private perſons in beſt circumſtances, whom he had found there; and gave notice, under hand, to all ſuch perſons, that they were firmly reſolved to oppoſe, effectually, ſo unjuſt a proceeding, to prevent which it was abſolutely neceſſary to put the governor under an arreſt. The anſwer to this propoſal was, that, before taking ſuch a ſtep, it would be proper to repreſent to him the injuſtice and bad policy of what he intended, as there was all the reaſon in the world to hope, he would pay due regard to ſuch repreſentations. The force of this argument, the officers of the revenue craftly eluded, by ſaying, that they knew him too well to think ſo; that it would be highly improper to let him know that this project had taken wind; and that there was no other way left, to avoid the evils with which they were threatened, but to ſeize on his perſon, as he would be the readier to liſten to their complaints, and redreſs their grievances; that they would, therefore, do well to hold themſelves in conſtant readineſs, till they received notice what to do; and that the preſervation of the country, to the Emperor, depended on their good behaviour. The revenue-officers then aſſigned the other malcontents two places, where they were to repair, privately armed, on the firſt notice of the bell for repeating the angelical ſalutation.

This plan was executed without the leaſt buſtle in the city; and, at the hour appointed, Cacerez Cabreras and Garcias Venegas entered the houſe of the governor, then confined to his bed by a fever; and, crying out, "liberty, liberty, long live the Emperor," which was the ſignal agreed upon,

they proceeded to his apartment, where they were immediately admitted by one of his servants, called Pedro de Onate, whom they had gained over. They then introduced Francisco de Mendoza, James Resquin Solarzano, and the Portuguese Interpreter, called Diego de Acosta. Resquin immediately made up to the sick man's bed, and applied to his breast a bent cross-bow, charged with a poisonous instrument of destruction, in form of a harpoon. Two other ruffians drew him out of bed, with nothing but his shirt on, crying out, "liberty;" calling him tyrant; and telling him they would make him pay severely for all the mischief he had done, and intended to do. In this manner they hurried him out of his house, Resquin still holding the bent cross-bow to his breast, to hinder him from speaking.

At the sight of so much insolence and cruelty, even those, whom the principal malcontents had engaged to take up arms, began to exclaim against their behaviour, and only raised their voices the higher, on the others endeavouring to silence them; till, at last, others joining in their resentment of the indecent manner in which the governor was treated, they, from words, proceeded to blows, which terminated in bloodshed. The Alguazil, Don Francis de Peralba, and the Alcalde Major, Don John Pavon, attempted to discharge their duty on the occasion; but they were immediately stript of their charges. During the tumult, Don Alvarez had been removed to the house of Venegas; and the other revenue-officers, having dispersed the multitude, who was crying out, with all their might, to have their governor restored to them, entered the room where he was laid down, and put irons on his legs. They then repaired to the house of Peter Fernandez, who was both notary to the king, and secretary to Don Alvarez, and was likewise greatly indisposed; carried off all the papers they

they found in his possession; and conducted him prisoner, along with Barthelmi Gonzalez, to the house of the King's lieutenant. A proclamation was then published in the name of the revenue-officers, forbidding all persons, already in their houses, to appear abroad, on pain of death; at the same time, that their satellites took care to clear the streets of all those they found in them, forcing some home, and others, who had most openly taken the governor's part, into the publick prisons, out of which all the criminals were removed, to make room for them. This done, the officers of the revenue repaired to the governor's house; seized upon all his papers, his commissions, the writings belonging to the proceedings that had been heretofore set on foot against themselves; in a word, all his effects, which they deposited with persons on whom they imagined they could depend. They then crowned their work by seizing on all the brigantines, which the caravel Don Alvarez had caused to be built at his own expence.

The day following, they published, by beat of drum, an order for the inhabitants to meet the next day, before the house of the King's lieutenant, Don Domingo Martinez de Irala; and, when the inhabitants were all assembled, made their appearance themselves, with a multitude of armed men; and caused the publick cryer to read, with a loud voice, a paper importing, that they had caused Don Alvarez Nunez de Vera Cabeca de Vaca to be put under arrest, in consequence of their having received certain intelligence, that he had formed a design of stripping the richest inhabitants of their effects, in order to provide for his creatures, and of establishing an arbitrary and tyrannical government upon the ruins of lawful authority. Nothing can be more inconstant, and easy to seduce, than the multitude; and, accordingly, the publication of this piece was followed by an almost general applause. The officers of

the revenue, who, at firſt, had been conſidered as rebels, were now acknowledged in quality of reſtorers of the publick liberty; and took advantage of the good humour of the people, to acquaint them, that the king's lieutenant was to command in the city, with the ſame authority the governor had done, till his majeſty's further intentions ſhould be known. This ſtep confirmed many perſons in their opinion, that Irala had been, underhand, the ſoul of all this intrigue; eſpecially as one in his place ſhould have oppoſed ſuch diſorders; or, at leaſt, refuſed from the hands of rebels, an authority they had no right to diſpoſe of. His friend, Pedro Diaz del Valle, was at the ſame time declared Alcalde major.

The chiefs of the rebellion then publiſhed, that they would immediately continue the diſcoveries, which Don Alvarez had but juſt begun. In this they had two views; the firſt was to ſend out of the way all thoſe, eſpecially of the military, from whom they had any thing to apprehend in favour of their priſoner; the ſecond, to amaſs a great deal of gold and ſilver, of which the late expedition of Don Alvarez had afforded them the proſpect, in hopes the ſight of it might induce the Emperor to approve their proceedings. But they ſoon found, that, though it may be an eaſy matter to impoſe, for ſome time, on the multitude, it is, on account of their inconſtancy, equally difficult to intereſt them ſo far in the purſuit of any unjuſt meaſures, as to make them ſtifle that natural ſenſe of equity, ſo remarkable in them; and which always affords ſo good an opportunity of bringing them back to their duty. Thoſe of the Aſſumption had even already begun to ſee their miſtake, and were moſt of them ſeized with ſuch a panic, at the thoughts of this new voyage, that nothing was to be heard, but the confuſed buzz of people crying out for their lawful governor.

To

To prevent the consequences of the people coming to themselves again, the conspirators sent some of Don Alvarez's most zealous advocates to prison; and placed guards at the gates of the churches, to hinder the rest, who had taken refuge there, from making their escape. They, likewise, placed guards at all the avenues to Venegas's house, where the governor was confined; and doubled his other guards. But this severity served only to exasperate the soldiery, and the populace; for which reason, the conspirators published, that the first commotion in his favour should cost him his life. They would even have obliged him, with a naked poignard to his breast, to sign an order to the army not to stir in his favour, if they had any regard left for him; but he had already taken this precaution. All these steps, however, were insufficient to quiet his enemies, who from time to time threatened to murder him, and throw his head out to the multitude, in case any one undertook to rescue him out of their hands. Nay, they pitched upon four men, whom they swore, in the Emperor's name, to dispatch Don Alvarez, at the first order.

Don Alvarez, all this time, was confined, though too sick to get out of bed, in a room so very damp, that the grass grew under his bed; and so very dark, that it was found necessary to keep a lamp continually burning over his bolster. One Bernard de Sosa, an infamous wretch, whom Don Alvarez had slightly punished for some crime that deserved death, and who, instead of gratitude for the favour shewn him, retained nothing but resentment for the chastisement he had suffered, never quitted this chamber. This room had two doors, which were kept constantly shut; and the guard about the house, consisted of one hundred and fifty men. The prisoner, notwithstanding all these precautions, had the good fortune of being well informed

of

of every thing it was proper he ſhould know, by means of notes brought him by an Indian woman, whoſe buſineſs it was to provide him with victuals, though they took care to ſhave her head, and not ſuffer her to wear any thing to ſupply the place of her hair; and even always examined her, before ſhe entered the houſe, with the moſt ſcrupulous and indecent attention, ſo far as to look into her mouth and ears. But they never thought of examining her toes; ſo that, though barefooted, ſhe found means to conceal between them a note, and ſome blank paper in ſeveral folds, with ſo much dexterity, that they never took the leaſt notice of them. As ſoon as ſhe was ſeated at the bed's-head, ſhe pulled out both one and the other, while ſhe appeared to be only ſcratching her feet; then, watching the moment that Soſa happened to turn his back, clapped them into the hands of the governor, who, having read the note with the ſame precaution, anſwered it by the means of a powder, made of a kind of earth found in the country, which, diluted with ſpittle, aſſumes a black colour.

The officers of the revenue ſoon perceived the effects of this contrivance; and, not knowing to whom to attribute them, ſuborned ſome young fellows to debauch Don Alvarez's provedore. But, though ſhe eaſily gave up her chaſtity, ſhe ſcrupulouſly preſerved her integrity, On theſe occaſions, women are more diſcreet than men. In the mean time, the commandant and the revenue-officers omitted nothing, to make, every one for himſelf, as many creatures as poſſible, and met with great ſucceſs; as whoever took part with them, might, without fear of puniſhment, go into the Indian towns; carry off both wives and daughters; take by force, and without payment, every thing they found there to their liking; and oblige the men

to

to work for them without any consideration. The Indians complained of these outrages; but their complaints were not listened to; which determined several of them, to take refuge in the mountains, along with their families; and the pious Don Alvarez, who received notice of their flight, forgot the injuries done himself, to think only on the misery the poor fugitives were exposed to; particuly the danger of losing the religion, they had so lately embraced.

His enemies, who apprehended other consequences from this desertion of the Indians, were not ashamed, in order to put a stop to it, to permit such, as had not as yet embraced christianity, to feed upon human flesh; and, tell them, that it was through mere perverseness, Don Alvarez had forbid them the use of it. The Spaniards, who still dared to express any regard for him, fared no better than the Indians; so that many of them, likewise, thought proper to remove. But they were immediately pursued, and all those, that were overtaken, put into irons. Some of the clergy, who spoke of these transactions in such a manner, as to let their hearers understand what they thought of them, were treated with equal severity. In fine, several private persons were, for the same pretended fault, whipped by the hands of the common hangman, and some of them condemned to the gallows. In other respects, all were left at liberty, to say and do what they pleased, whilst the authors of all these disorders had the impudence to boast their zeal for the good of the publick, and the Emperor's service.

In fine, no less than fifty Spaniards made the best of their way into Brazil, in order to sail from thence to Spain, and inform the Emperor's council of the deplorable condition of the province. But what surprized people most, was, that the two friars, who,

as we have before related, had formerly taken the ſame road, in order to complain of Don Alvarez to the Emperor, now ſet out again, by the ſame way, and on the ſame errand, with the conſent, or perhaps at the requeſt, of the officers of the revenue. Theſe ruffians, however, began at laſt to conſider, that, as long as Don Alvarez remained at the Aſſumption, their power would be very precarious. They had ſhewn themſelves capable of the blackeſt crimes; and many perſons began to ſuſpect, that they had compleated the meaſure of their iniquities by a parricide. But he, who has ſet bounds to the ſea, which in its greateſt fury it can never tranſgreſs, arreſts, when he pleaſes, the hands of thoſe, who ſcruple not to commit the greateſt crimes, when neceſſary to gratify their unruly paſſions. The inhabitants now learned, when they leaſt thought of it, that orders had been given to equip one of Don Alvarez's brigantines to carry him to Spain; and that his enemies had impoſed upon themſelves to ſuch a degree, as to think they had formed a proceſs againſt him, which the Emperor and his council could not but approve. They likewiſe diſtributed to different perſons, the forms of letters, which they were to write to their friends in Spain, to repreſent the Governor as the moſt profligate and abandoned wretch on the face of the earth.

On the other hand, his zealous ſervants did not forget him. They cauſed judicial informations to be taken of every thing that had happened; and, along with ſeveral authentic pieces, which Don Alvarez had put into their hands before his confinement, encloſed them in a beam, hollowed for that purpoſe, which they found means to have nailed to the ſtem of the brigantine; the carpenters, whom they gained over, alledging that this precaution was neceſſary to ſtrengthen the veſſel

vessel sufficiently for so long a voyage. In the mean time, the populace, who knew nothing of all these measures, were still under the greatest uneasiness about the fate of their governor, whom several imagined his enemies would never have assurance enough to send to Spain. It was even universally whispered, that it was merely to hide his death, they gave out he was returning to Spain. Upon this, therefore, they brought into his room two ecclesiastics, and two gentlemen, whom the inhabitants had no reason to suspect; and who dissipated their apprehensions by assuring them, that they had seen the governor full of life. The conspirators then declared, that, if the Emperor thought proper to send Don Alvarez back to Paraguay, and re-establish him in his employments, they would receive him with all the submission due to his Majesty's orders; and even added, that the two revenue-officers, who were to embark on board the same ship with him, would, on their arrival in Spain, surrender themselves prisoners, till their proceedings were examined and approved of.

1545. THE Brigantine being ready to put to sea, Cabrera and d'Orantez repaired by night to Don Alvarez's room, who was now very ill; and taking him up in their arms carried him to the street door. The sick man looking up to heaven, at this time very bright, and which he had not seen since the day he was put under arrest, begged they would permit him to thank God for having once more granted him that satisfaction, and threw himself on his knees. Two soldiers then took him up to carry him a ship-board; when finding himself surrounded with a crowd of people drawn together by the report of his departure, he raised his voice and cried out, "Gentlemen, I take you to witness, that I appoint Don Juan de Salazar de Espinosa to command in this province, till his Majesty has sent you

another governor." He could ſay no more, as Vanegas, claſping a poignard to his breaſt, threatened to bury it in his heart, if he ſpoke another word; and even went ſo far as to give him a ſlight wound. The ruffians then commanded the men, who carried Don Alvarez, to preſs forward as faſt as they could; and, when they had him ſafe on board, ordered him to be put down on the ſtern, between two planks, laid ſo cloſe together, that he could not turn himſelf. Cabrera and Vanegas embarked on board the ſame ſhip; and Irala ſent with them a perſon called Lope de Ugarte, to have an eye to his intereſts at court. This man was one of thoſe, who had the greateſt hand in all the exceſſes committed againſt the governor, but like his maſter, had not declared himſelf publickly; for which reaſon, Cabrera and Vanegas flattered themſelves, that in Spain, no one would form any ſuſpicions to their prejudice.

As ſoon as all were embarked, the two revenue-officers, who remained behind at the Aſſumption, impriſoned Don Juan de Salazar and Eſtopinian Cabeca de Vaca, nephew to Don Alvarez, and two days after ſent them on board a ſecond brigantine, which ſoon overtook the firſt. The conſpirators muſt have had very ſtrong reaſons to ſend theſe two officers to Spain, as they were men of great birth and merit. But, beſides their being greatly eſteemed by the garriſon, which, therefore, might range itſelf under their orders, they were, perhaps, put on ſhip-board, merely to be treated in the ſame manner with the governor, whom, it appears, his enemies had reſolved to put out of the way. It is, at leaſt, certain, that Don Alvarez, having requeſted, that two of his ſervants, who had followed him a ſhip-board, might be permitted to dreſs his victuals for him, and ſerve them up to him, was denied this ſmall favour, and a Biſcayen, called Mechin, had orders

orders to perform the firſt part of this office; and then deliver what he had prepared into the hands of Ugarte, who was to perform the ſecond. But Don Alvarez immediately perceived, that his victuals were ſeaſoned with arſenic, againſt which he had no other way of ſecuring himſelf, but by vomiting himſelf violently with a little oil, of which he had taken on board a ſmall quantity. After having gone on in this manner for three days ſucceſſively, he declared he would no longer take any thing but from the hands of his own ſervants; upon which the revenue-officers told him very coolly, that he might ſtarve himſelf, if he pleaſed; for that no one ſhould hinder him. Accordingly they ſuffered him to go without any ſupport for ſeveral days, till, finding himſelf very far gone, and that his enemies wiſhed only for his death, he took every thing they gave him; continuing to have recourſe to his oil, as often as he found any occaſion for it.

Besides Salazar and Cabeca de Vaca, the conſpirators had embarked, as priſoners, on board the ſecond ſhip, Pedro Fernandez and Ruiz Miranda. Several other perſons obtained leave to return to Spain by the ſame opportunity, and, among the reſt, father Juan de Salazar a religious of la Merci; but, firſt, they made him promiſe, not to interpoſe in favour of Don Alvarez. Cabrera and Vanegas, however, thought this was running too great a riſk, and ſent them back to the Aſſumption on board the ſame ſhip, that had brought them out; and, along with them, the two ſervants of Don Alvarez to the great grief of their maſter.

The other brigantine, with Don Alvarez on board, had ſcarce loſt ſight of land, when there aroſe ſo furious a ſtorm, that the moſt experienced mariners gave themſelves up for loſt. Upon this, the two revenue-officers, who thought themſelves at the point of being arraigned at that great tribunal from

 whence

whence there is no appeal, and where truth can neither be ſtifled nor diſguiſed, felt all the weight of their crimes. Nay the pangs of their conſcience, extorted from them a public confeſſion of all their iniquities, and forced them to declare, that they now plainly ſaw, that the arm, which revenges oppreſſed innocence, had ſtirred up the elements againſt them. Cabrera took off the governor's irons with his own hands; and, along with Vanegas, kiſſed his feet. They then, with a loud voice, aſked his pardon for all the injuries they had done him, and authentically recanted all the falſe reports they had ſpread to the prejudice of his honour; adding that they had taken a thouſand falſe oaths to deſtroy him. Laſtly, they conjured him, in the name of God, to forgive them all theſe enormities; and not ruin them, in caſe they eſcaped, in the eyes of his imperial Majeſty.

Don Alvarez promiſed them every thing they aſked, and aſſured them, that he forgot all that was paſt. In the mean time, the ſtorm, after raging four days without intermiſſion, had entirely ſubſided, and the whole ſhip's company looked upon themſelves as indebted to the virtue and merits of ſo holy a man, for their unexpected deliverance. The brigantine, after this, ſailed two thouſand five hundred leagues without making land; ſo that the people on board ſoon ſaw themſelves reduced to a little meal, which they made into cakes with hog's lard; for the revenue-officers ſcarce ſaw themſelves out of danger of periſhing by ſhipwreck, than the fear of God's judgments made way in their wicked hearts for that of their ſovereign's anger, againſt which Don Alvarez's promiſes they imagined would be but a ſlender ſecurity, after the publick confeſſion they had made. They, therefore, choſe to keep to ſea, though in danger of periſhing by hunger, rather than by touching at the Brazils, or Hiſpaniola,

Hispaniola, expose themselves to the danger of being arrested there. At length, after a three months dreadful navigation, the immediate prospect of famine obliged them to put into the Azores, where, immediately on landing, they waited on the commander of the fort to acquaint him, that they had on board a man, who, in his passage by the Cape de Verd Islands, had plundered that of Santiago; and that he might do whatever he pleased with him.

The commander, surprised at such an accusation, began to suspect the truth of it. "What you tell me (said he) cannot be true. Is there a private man living bold enough to affront my master, who, besides, does not leave his ports defenceless enough to be so easily insulted?" Confounded with this answer, the meaning of which they thoroughly comprehended, they immediately retired without making any reply; and, leaving their prisoner on board the brigantine, went on board another ship just setting sail for Spain, where they arrived twelve days before him, and gave out that he was gone to Portugal to communicate his discoveries to the court of Lisbon. They then repaired to Valladolid, where the court then happened to be, and laid before the council all their memorials, with all the papers they had prepared in support of them.

Unhappily for them, the Royal Council of the Indies had at this time for president, Don Sebastian Ramirez Fuenscal, bishop of Cuenca, who to the greatest knowledge of American affairs joined the greatest integrity and circumspection. He had been before president of the Royal Audience of San-Domingo, and of that of New Spain; and his great experience made him immediately suspect, and soon discover the wicked designs of these miscreants, who strove artfully to conceal their machinations under the specious pretext of an unlimited zeal for the good of the public. He was even preparing to

make a public example of them, when death interposed to the great regret of all the kingdom. Don Alvarez, in the mean time, arrived at Valladolid; and, the very night of his arrival, his two accusers set out for Madrid, where the court was about to remove a few days after. Garcias Vanegas died suddenly, without having time to utter a single word, and his eyes starting out of their sockets; and, pretty much about the same time, Cabrera expired, after killing his wife, in a fit of madness. We are also told, that the two Friars, who went from the Assumption to Brazil, in order to pass from thence into Spain with memorials against Don Alvarez, died suddenly, and in a very deplorable manner.

But, though Don Alvarez had now no longer any enemies in Spain, and the justice of God, so signally displayed against his accusers, seemed more than sufficient to prove his innocence, he was not fully acquitted of every thing laid to his charge in less than eight years; nor did the council think proper to send him back to Paraguay, lest his presence there should occasion fresh disturbances. Nay, he did not, all this time, receive any reward for his services, nor any indemnification for the losses he had incurred, and the disbursements he had made, in the emperor's service. This delay is attributed to his Majesty's long absence from his Spanish territories. At last, the Emperor granted him a pension of two thousand gold crowns, and gave him a place in the Royal Audience of Seville, where he died in a very advanced age. I have, indeed, seen a memorial, in which it is said, that he was immediately gratified with a seat in the Royal Council of the Indies. But, though his sovereign might have amply rewarded him for all his services, he never indemnified him for all his sufferings, nor properly acknowledged the heroic manner, in which he bore the many indignities that had been offered him.

him. At this, however, we are not to be surprized. There are virtues which no earthly monarch can do justice to. Those, who think, and act up to the great principles of christianity, know that God alone can be their reward.

The slowness of these proceedings may, indeed, in some measure be accounted for, by the distance of Paraguay, from whence it was requisite to have judicial informations; as well as by the long absence of the Emperor from his hereditary dominions. Besides, this great and good man, might, agreeable to his known disposition, put up with the testimony of his conscience; and, therefore, gave himself very little trouble to solicit his judges, and engage them to terminate the prosecution against him, though he knew it must end greatly to his advantage. But what did him most honour, was, that he never let fall a single word to the prejudice of his enemies, or that could bear hard upon Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, even after he had learned how unworthily this officer had acted in regard to him, after his departure from the Assumption, as we shall presently relate. However, the agent, whom Irala sent over to take care of his interests at court, could never obtain leave to return to Paraguay. All that now remains to compleat the history of Don Alvarez is, to give some account of the voyage undertaken, by his orders, by captain Fernandez de Ribera, and of which Don Alvarez himself heard nothing till his arrival in Spain.

Ribera, as has been already said, set out from King's-Port, the 20th of December, 1543, with two and fifty men, and entered the Iguata, which in six days, he found to be formed westward of the Paraguay and King's-Port, by the junction of two others called *Yacareati* and *Yayva*. Here he left his brigantine, with twelve men to take care of her,

and ſet out with the other forty, and a guide given him by the Xarayes, who underſtood the language current in a great part of the country he was to traverſe, and a royal notary, called John Valderas, ſent with him by Don Alvarez to keep an exact account of every thing they could diſcover. But Ribera thought it beſt not to impart any thing of what he learned by means of his interpreter, in his private converſations with the Indians, to any one but Don Alvarez, who, he knew, was determined to examine every thing by himſelf. But Don Alvarez being too much indiſpoſed, at Ribera's return to King's-Port, to receive a full account of every thing he learned, he followed him to the Aſſumption; where we have ſeen it was impoſſible to ſpeak to him at any rate. Upon this, Ribera thought it his duty to draw up a relation, in form, of all his diſcoveries; and, as ſoon as it was ready, he aſſembled, in the church of the fathers for the redemption of captives, ſome perſons, upon whoſe diſcretion he could depend; then, in preſence of the ſuperior of the convent, and the royal notary Pedro Fernandez, he read to them his relation, and ſwore to the truth of it upon the holy evangeliſts. The ſubſtance of it I ſhall now give the reader.

Ribera, on his arrival at the confluence of the two rivers forming the Iguata, was informed by the Xarayes he met there, that the Yayoa iſſues from the mountains of Santa Martha; and the Yacareati, from thoſe of Peru, whence it falls precipitately into a very low country; that they, firſt, mix together in the country of the *Perobacaez*, and then ſeparate and form a very great iſland well inhabited by different nations. After taking leave of the Xarayes, whoſe Cacique, called *Camire*, had received him with extraordinary marks of kindneſs and reſpect, he continued his march for three days, when he arrived

among

among another nation of Indians, called *Urtuezez*, who, like the Xarayes, till the ground, and feed several kinds of poultry. He then pushed on, through a very populous country, till he arrived in fourteen degrees and fifty three minutes of South latitude.

During his stay among the Urtuezez, who had for neighbours the *Aburtinez*, a great many Indians of the neighbourhood came to wait upon him, and presented him feathers like those found in Peru, and plates of a metal they called *Chafalonia*. He examined them separately, concerning the country that lay beyond them, and they all unanimously told him, that, at ten days march to the North-west, there were large towns inhabited by women, who had great quantities of white and yellow metal, and were governed by a woman, whom the nations in her neighbourhood greatly feared and respected; that these women made use of nothing but what was made of white metal; and that, on the road to them, there was a nation of very little men, unable to make head against the women who often invaded their country; but that, however, at a certain season of the year, they sent for some of these little men, to have children by them; that they kept the girls to themselves, but sent the boys, when weaned, back to their fathers; that, by what he could gather from these Indians, these women inhabit a tract of land, North-north-west of the mountains of Santa Martha, and a great lake, which the natives call *the house of the sun*, because this luminary appears to them to set in it; that, beyond the country of these women, there are several numerous nations of black men, with beards terminating in a point. The Indians, who gave this account, added, that they had heard those particulars from their fathers, but had not themselves had an opportunity of being eye-witness to them;

 that

that their neighbours had given them the ſame account, adding, withal, that all thoſe black men were very well dreſſed, had large houſes built with earth and ſtones, and white and yellow metal in ſuch plenty, that all their veſſels, their kettles, and in general, all their utenſils were made of one or the other.

RIBERA aſked them, which way theſe black men lived, and they anſwered, that, after fifteen days march, North-weſt, he might expect to be very near their country; from whence he concluded, that they muſt be ſituated about the twelfth degree of South latitude, between the mountains of Santa Martha and thoſe of Maranon. He was likewiſe informed, that theſe black men were a very warlike nation, but had no other arms but bows and arrows. The ſame Indians gave him likewiſe, to underſtand by ſigns, that, between the Weſt-north-weſt and the North-weſt one quarter North, there were a great many well inhabited tracts of land and ſome towns of ſuch a length, that a man could not, in one day, walk from one end of them to the other; that all theſe Indians had a great deal of yellow and white metal, and that the road to them was not very long, and lay, beſides, through a populous country; that there was a lake to the Weſt, of ſuch extent, that there was no ſeeing acroſs it; that all the Indians living in the neighbourhood of this lake had a great deal of metal and little ſtones, that caſt a great luſtre, and with which they adorned the borders of their cloaths, and their furniture; that their towns were very large; that they tilled their ground, and bred great quantities of poultry; and that from the place where he now was, he might arrive at the lake in fifteen days; that the roads to it were very good, when the waters did not happen to be out, and lay through a populous country; that, at preſent, the rivers in the way

had

had overflown their banks; and that, beſides, Ribera had too few men to attempt travelling through ſo well inhabited a country.

THEY then told him, that Weſt one quarter South Weſt, there were other great towns, whoſe houſes were built with earth, and whoſe inhabitants were very courteous and rich, having metals in abundance, and feeding great flocks of very large ſheep, which they made uſe of to plough and harrow their ground, and carry burdens; that he could get to them in a few days; and that the road lay through an inhabited country, where there were chriſtians all, and ſome ſandy deſarts, where no water was to be found. Ribera having aſked them, how they came to know they were chriſtians at that ſide of the country, they anſwered, that, formerly, ſome Indians, who lived at no great diſtance from theſe towns, had heard the people of the country ſay, that, in croſſing theſe deſarts, they had ſeen white men, with beards, dreſſed like himſelf, and riding upon animals, which, according to the deſcription they gave of them, muſt be horſes; but, that not finding any water in theſe deſarts, they were obliged to make the beſt of their way back; after many of them had periſhed with hunger and thirſt.

RIBERA, having then aſked them, how they came to know all theſe particulars, they anſwered, that there was a great communication between all theſe nations; and that it was certain, chriſtians had been ſeen, with their horſes, coming from towards the deſart; that they likewiſe knew, by hear-ſay, that, on the declivity of the mountains to the South-Weſt, there were large towns, whoſe inhabitants were very rich in metals; and that, at the other ſide of the mountains, the water was ſalt, and very great buildings had been ſeen moving on this water. In fine, having aſked them, if all the nations they had mentioned had chiefs, who had an

an authority over the reſt of the nation, they anſwered, that every nation had its own chief, who was always the braveſt men in it, and that all the reſt punctually obeyed him. Ribera concluded, upon oath, that, not ſatisfied with what the Indians told him, when he ſpoke to them in general and all together, he had examined them ſeparately, when they all anſwered uniformly, and without the leaſt alteration.

To return to Irala, he behaved as if he flattered himſelf, that Don Alvarez would never return to Paraguay, but would periſh on his paſſage to Spain; or, if he did not fall under the weight of the heavy charges brought againſt him, loſe all his credit in conſequence of them. He entered upon the exerciſe of the poſt, which the enemies of the governor had conferred upon him, by diſtributing his ſpoils among thoſe, whom it moſt imported him to make his friends. But, though Don Alvarez could not be long ignorant of ſo ſtrange a proceeding, he, notwithſtanding, continued to obſerve the ſtricteſt ſilence in regard to him, even when he might have ruined him with a ſingle word.

He ſoon found means to intereſt in his ſucceſs all thoſe, from whom he had any thing to fear, or whoſe aſſiſtance he might ſtand in need of, to continue in the enjoyment of his ill-got power, by authorizing their injuſtice, or ſhutting his eyes on their manner of treating the Indians. But, as he ſoon underſtood, that ſuch meaſures, alone, are inſufficient to ſecure the poſſeſſion of an authority, which, when not ratified by the ſovereign, is generally ſhared by thoſe who conferred it, he thought it his buſineſs to give work, abroad, to all thoſe, from whom he might expect any contradiction at home. It was partly for this reaſon, but ſtill more, to make himſelf neceſſary, by entering into the views of the Emperor, that he reſolved to continue his diſcoveries.

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He little expected the revenue-officers would oppose him in this design. On the first mention of it, however, these gentlemen told him, that it was not proper he should leave the Assumption, till his majesty had confirmed him in the government of this province. If the misunderstanding between him and these officers did not break out before this declaration, at least it soon followed; and then the confusion became general. The Indians, who soon discovered the critical situation of the Spaniards, resolved to take advantage of it. By way of making reprisals for the cruelty, with which the Spaniards did not cease to treat them, they plundered all their country-settlements. Irala, however, was a gainer on the occasion, on account of the necessity the Spaniards had of him to repress these insults. He no sooner took the field, than the Indians disappeared; and they never ventured to shew their faces again.

1546. Having so firmly established his authority by this success, that no one, henceforward, dared to contradict him, he resolved to proceed on his first design. He had attached to his interest a gentleman born at Truxillo, in Estramadura, called Naslo de Chaves, a man of great resolution, and who wished for nothing more than an opportunity of signalizing himself. This gentleman, he ordered to go and wait for him with the director of provisions, Lescano and forty Spaniards, among the *Mayas* or *Yayas*, who live to the West of the Paraguay, and about one hundred leagues north of the Assumption, almost under the tropic; and, after overcoming some unforeseen obstacles, which delayed him a little, followed him in person, after gaining the soldiers, by permitting them to live at discretion in all the places they should pass through; and naming Don Francisco de Mendoza, his lieutenant-general, during his absence. He took along with

him

him three hundred Spaniards, upon four brigantines; and was followed by three thousand five hundred Indians, part in pirogues, and the rest by land, to the river of the Itatines, where they at last, embarked. Here Chavez joined the general with provisions; and the army remounted the Paraguay to King's-Port.

From King's-Port they continued their march till they met the Xarayes, who are said to be the most politick and civilized nation of all this continent. At least, they received Irala very well; supplied him with provisions in abundance; gave him some men by way of reinforcement, and to serve him as guides. This behaviour of theirs engaged him to leave in their care his vessels, which he had now no longer any occasion for; and then he set out North-Westwards. The first Indians he met with informed him of many things concerning all the country, reaching as far as the river of Amazons, and told him, among other things, that, on the banks of the lake *Del Dorada*, there were several nations, who had gold and silver in great plenty; that the *Sembicosis* in particular, who lived to the West, had very rich mines. He, upon this, thought proper to direct his course that way; and, after many days march, arrived on the banks of the *Guapay*, which falls into the *Mamore*, a great river, that discharges itself under the name of *Rio de la Madera* into the Maranon. From hence he travelled till he reached the Sembicosis, who live at the foot of the Peruvian mountains, and presented him with many samples of gold and silver. He, likewise met, with some Indians there, who informed him, that there then reigned great divisions among the Spaniards of Peru; and, as he thought this a favourable opportunity to pay his court to the Emperor, he sent Chaves to the president

ſident de la Gaſca, who commanded in that kingdom for his majeſty, to offer himſelf, and all the troops he had along with him. The preſident accepted his offers, and named Don Diego de Centeno, to govern Paraguay during his abſence. It even appears, that he intended this officer ſhould continue there.

But, as Irala's meſſengers made a very long ſtay, becauſe they were obliged to go to Lima, where the preſident then was, his troops preſſed him greatly to enter Peru; and, on being told, that he could not do ſo, without leave from the perſon who commanded there, they replied, that, if that was the caſe, they muſt return to Paraguay. Upon this, he repreſented to them, that he had given his word to Chaves to wait for him, and that, in honour and juſtice, he could not go from it. But, the only effect theſe repreſentations had on the ſoldiers, was to make them mutiny, ſo that he found himſelf under an abſolute neceſſity of yielding to their entreaties. At his arrival among the Xarayes, finding his veſſels in good order, he took ſhipping to return to the Aſſumption, where he did not arrive till the third year after he had left it.

1547-49. In this interval, great changes had happened at the Aſſumption. In about twelve months after his ſetting out, Don Franciſco de Mendoza, whom Irala had left to command there during his abſence; and, indeed many others, began to think, that Don Dominigo Martinez de Irala, from whom, all this time, there arrived no news, had met with the ſame fate with Don Juan de Ayolas. His friends, therefore, adviſed him to propoſe the election of a new governor, as he could make no doubt, they ſaid, of all the votes being for him; and of his afterwards obtaining, by the intereſt of his illuſtrious family, a commiſſion in form from the Emperor.

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He followed their advice; spoke to all the electors; and flattered himself, that he had gained them over to his interest, though their proposing to him, that he should first resign his post of lieutenant-general, might naturally enough make him suspect their sincerity. How great, therefore, must have have been his surprize, when, after doing what they proposed, Don Diego de Abreu was declared governor on the very first scrutiny, and proclaimed on the spot. Thunder-struck in a manner, to see himself thus outwitted by those, whom he flattered himself he had made his friends, he consulted those whom he still thought so; and they all, unluckily for him, gave it as their opinion, that the election was void; and took notice to him, that it was in consequence of a premeditated design to exclude him from the supreme command, he had been first obliged to give up that he was in actual possession of; that he should begin by causing this his resignation to be declared surreptitious; and then exercise the functions of it as before; that they would support him in these measures, and soon find means to make him master of de Abreu's person.

The new governor was soon informed of this cabal; and, without losing a single moment, caused Mendoza's house to be invested. At the first motion for this purpose, almost all those, who had engaged him in this scrape, made their escape. The rest, who continued with him, were all put under arrest, and sentenced to lose their heads. Mendoza appealed to the Emperor's council; but he was told, that his appeal was void and abusive; and that he should think of nothing but to make his peace with God. Upon this, he resigned himself, and prepared for death, in a christian manner; received the sacraments of the church; and was conducted by a company of soldiers

ſoldiers to the ſcaffold, which, to the almoſt general diſapprobation of the province, the governor had cauſed to be erected before his own houſe.

We cannot refuſe our tears to the ſad fate of a man of Don Mendoza's family, who, but a few days before, commanded in the ſame city, where he was now condemned to ſuffer as a criminal, and who had gained himſelf every heart by a behaviour equally affable and noble. As ſoon as he had aſcended the ſcaffold, he expreſſed a deſire of ſpeaking, upon which a profound ſilence enſued. He then declared, that on the ſame day and month, a little before his departure from Spain, he had, in a fit of jealouſy, and on bare ſuſpicion, put to death his firſt wife, and his chaplain; that he now ſaw divine juſtice had ordered, that he ſhould expiate his crime, by falling under the hands of an executioner; and that he cheerfully ſubmitted to his ſentence, praying God would be ſatisfied with puniſhing him in this life, and ſpare him in the next.

End of the Second Book.

BOOK

BOOK III.

Irala returns to the Assumption, and punishes the authors of the revolutions during his absence. Stratagem of Irala to maintain himself in the government. The Assumption erected into a bishoprick, Arrival of the bishop. Irala's death. Arrival of a new governor. He and the bishop set out for Peru. The governor deposed by the viceroy of Peru. Another named in his place, who, on his arrival at the Assumption, quarrels with the bishop, and is by him conducted prisoner to Spain. A new governor sent from Spain. General description of Tucuman and Chaco. Two very remarkable nations in Chaco. Account of the Chiriguanes. Origin of the slavery in which the Spaniards hold the Indians.

1549. THE governor, having rid himself of so dangerous a rival, had now nothing to do but endeavour to procure himself the Emperor's commission. He, therefore, immediately dispatched a caravel to Spain, with Don Alfonso de Riquelmi, whom he charged with a judicial attestation of his election, and the proofs that had been received of Irala's death; ordering Ferdinando de Ribera to escort him with a brigantine, as far as the cape of Santa Martha. Riquelmi's caravel endeavouring to reach an island in order to dart from thence into the ocean, was driven by a sudden squall upon a rock, and dashed to pieces. Ribera, having soon

ſoon got intelligence of the caravel's misfortune; took on board the crew, which had happily eſcaped drowning, but were in the greateſt danger of periſhing by the hands of the ſavages; and arrived at the Aſſumption the latter end of the year 1549; when he found Irala returned from his inland expedition up the Paraguay.

THE whole town went four leagues to meet him, and ſaluted him in quality of their governor. Don Diego de Abreu, who had not reſolution enough to oppoſe this reception, and might well foreſee that Irala would make him pay dearly for Mendoza's death, choſe to avoid his reſentment by flight. Moſt of thoſe, who had any reaſon to dread a proſecution on the ſame ſcore, took the ſame ſtep, and poſted themſelves in a mountain, from whence it was the more difficult to draw them, as the Indians in the neighbourhood had declared in their favour. But the governor was ſoon comforted for the loſs of his prey by the arrival of Chavez and thoſe who had accompanied him to Peru, from whence he returned, not only without loſing a ſingle man, but with a reinforcement of fifty Spaniards.

1549-50. CHAVEZ, who was ſon-in-law to Don Franciſco de Mendoza, claimed juſtice of the governor againſt thoſe, who had any hand in his death; and Irala promiſed he ſhould have it. Upon this, a few of thoſe who had not as yet abſconded were happy enough to make their eſcape; the reſt ſuffered. Abreu, more and more alarmed at this ſeverity, retired to a greater diſtance, but was at laſt overtaken. Twenty ſoldiers, who had expreſs orders to take him dead or alive, and for that purpoſe were tracking him from place to place, having ſpied a kind of cabin ſurrounded with trees on the top of a mountain of difficult acceſs, clambered up to it in the night time;

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and, having diſtinguiſhed him among four or five Spaniards, who ſtill continued to ſtick faithfully by him, one of them fired upon him, and laid him dead upon the ſpot.

1550-55. THESE tranſactions were attended with great violence and confuſion; and it is no eaſy matter to juſtify all Irala's proceedings on the occaſion. Nay, from his behaviour to Don Alvarez there ariſes a very ſtrong preſumption to his prejudice. Unluckily for his reputation, he did not ſufficiently diſguiſe his paſſion to command; for which he certainly was in many reſpects extremely well qualified. The impunity, with which he permitted the ſoldiery and his adherents to treat not only the Indians, but the reſt of the Spaniards, and which produced many revolts among the former, is utterly inexcuſable. Accordingly, as he had all the reaſon in the world to fear, that ſome of the witneſſes to his vexations would give the Royal council of the Indies, or the Emperor, an account of them, he had every where his ſpies, whoſe vigilance was ſo much the more formidable, as death, or at leaſt impriſonment, was the certain conſequence of being diſcovered to have written any letters to that purpoſe; for he never was at a loſs for pretexts to go ſuch lengths, and he was equally attentive to prevent any of the malcontents ſlipping into Peru, as he had as much to dread from thoſe who commanded there, as from the Emperor and his council.

HE could not but know, that, at the very time he ſent an offer of his ſervices to the preſident de la Gaſca, this nobleman, whether becauſe he reſolved to accept them, or becauſe ſome of Irala's deputies had informed him of the troubles in Paraguay, and made ſome complaints of their governor, reſolved to ſend one there, upon whom he could depend; and had for this purpoſe, as we have

have already seen, cast his eyes upon Don Diego de Centeno, an old officer, whose name is famous in the history of Peru for his zeal for the service of his sovereign, and his other virtues, which rendered him equal to the most arduous undertakings, and worthy of the highest honours. The bounds of the country, which the commander-general of Peru thought proper to commit to his care, were Cuzco and Charcas to the south east and west; on the one side; and, on the other side, Brazil from the fourteenth to the twenty-seventh degrees of south latitude.

He recommended to him, above all things, to bestow his first cares on forwarding the temporal and eternal happiness of the natives; never to employ force against them, till fair means should be found absolutely insufficient; and not only give the missionaries all the protection necessary for the due execution of their functions, but even take their advice in all his transactions relating to the Indians; not to lose time in running up and down the country, as his predecessors had done to very little or no purpose; but to extend his settlements by placing them at small distances one from the other; this being the only sure method of quieting the present, and preventing future, dissentions among the Spaniards, and retaining the Indians in their towns, since nothing but the dread of being molested can oblige them to desert their old habitations; to exact from the Indians but a very moderate tribute, and regulate it by the advice of the regular and secular clergy; to grant no favours but to such as by their service and good character appeared entitled to them; not to take with him any Spaniards who had a hand in Gonzalvo Pizarro's revolt; in fine, to see, that all those, who thought proper to follow him to Paraguay, observed on the road the strictest discipline, and

carried off no Indians by force, upon any pretext whatever:

It is not to be doubted, but that Paraguay would soon have put on another face, in consequence of instructions drawn up with so much wisdom, and given to a man of Centeno's character. But he died in the midst of his preparations to set out for it; and Irala, it is probable, knew nothing, till he received an account of Centeno's death, of the danger he was in of seeing himself supplanted by another, if his soldiers had not obliged him to hasten his return to the Assumption. Irala's first care, on finding himself freed from the danger of being thus supplanted from Peru, was to make useful establishments; and it must be owned that so far Paraguay is greatly indebted to him. He had, by this time, had leisure enough to see, that this colony could not subsist without a sea-port, where vessels from Spain might easily arrive, and fine sure and convenient anchorage; and it looks, as if he had resolved, in good earnest, to procure it that advantage, having sent captain Juan Romero, with one hundred soldiers, upon two brigantines to chuse one. Romero stopt at the mouth of a little river, which falls into the Rio de la Plata, a little above the islands of Saint Gabriel; and had begun to lay down upon its banks the plan of a city, under the name of Saint John, which is likewise that of the river, when the Indians annoyed the Spaniards to such a degree, that he, at length, thought proper to give up the attempt, and set out for the Assumption.

Having, one day during the passage, landed with some of his people to dine on the banks of the river, the spot, where he ordered the table to be laid, suddenly loosened from the main land, and floated off with the stream. Upon this, he made an attempt to swim back to the bri-

gantine.

gantine. But there ensued so great an agitation in the waters, that, to avoid being drowned with all his men; he was soon obliged to make for the shore, where he was scarce arrived, when the brigantine went to the bottom. At the end of eight days, she appeared again, when all those who had been left on board her were found dead, except a woman, who assured them she had suffered nothing, though she had, for twice twenty-four hours, forty-four fathom of water upon her.

Some time after this; the Guaranis, who lived near the great fall of the Parana, and had voluntarily submitted to the Spaniards, applied to the governor for assistance against the Tapez, inhabitants of the frontiers of Brazil, who, supported by the Portuguese, made frequent irruptions into their country, and committed great ravages there. Irala, thinking it the duty, and even the interest, of the Spaniards, to afford them protection, raised a little army composed of Spaniards and Indians; took the command of it himself; and led it to the habitations of the Guaranis, where their warriors joined him. He then marched to the Tapes, who defended themselves very well, but were worsted at last; and, to avoid being entirely cut to pieces, promised they would never molest the Guaranis for the future.

The governor, having carefully examined the spot occupied by the Guaranis, thought it would be proper to build a town there, as well to be at hand to awe all this frontier of Brazil, as to get nearer to the sea, and thereby always have a better opportunity of informing the council of the Indies of all the wants of the colony. This resolution once taken, he no sooner reached the Assumption, than he charged Garcias Rodriguez de Vergara, with the execution of his project; and sent him off, in 1554, with sixty men, and every

thing requisite for such an undertaking. Vergara began by looking about for an advantageous situation for his new town; and, at last, flattered himself he had discovered one to the right of the Parana, a little above the great fall. He, therefore, immediately set about the work, and called his new town *Ontiveras*, after a town in Castile, where he was born. But this name of Ontiveras was soon lost, in that of *Guayra*, which the province was known by.

About this time, there arrived an order at the Assumption from the council of the Indies, to suspend the discoveries, and the new establishments among the Indians; and Irala caused it to be published. He then sent to Spain the Regidor Don Pedro de Molina, a man zealously attached to him, under the pretext of informing his majesty of the condition and wants of his province; but, in reality, to have an eye to his interests at court. And, lest any one should take advantage of this opportunity to write against him, he kept Molina's voyage very secret, and sent away with him Nuflo de Chaves, who was preparing, by his orders, to march against the Indians of the Brazilian frontiers, of whom his allies had made him heavy complaints. But, as he still dreaded, that, in spite of all his precautions, the malcontents might find out some means or other of conveying memorials against him to the council of the Indies, he thought it but prudent, in order to ward so dangerous a stroke, to write himself to the Emperor, and beseech his majesty to order his conduct to be enquired into, from a persuasion, that the confidence expressed by such a request would defeat all the complaints against him, which might happen to reach the sovereign himself, or his council. Trusting, therefore, to this precaution, and looking upon himself as secure from any court storm, he, at last, proceeded to a distribution of the lands, which hitherto

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he had constantly refused; but he did it more like a sovereign, than a subject; and, in spite of the Emperor's injunctions, made grants to Portuguese and other strangers; threatening, with the severest punishment, all those who should take upon themselves publickly to blame his conduct in this respect; as he made no doubt, he said, of obtaining the Emperor's approbation of all his measures.

To this act of despotism he soon added two regulations, which tended greatly to obstruct the trade carried on between the Spaniards and the Indians. The Indians made no scruple to express their displeasure at it, though the fear of being still worse treated hindered most of them from stirring. Chaves was sent, with one hundred and fifty men, to chastise those who did; but he found it a much harder task than he at first imagined. The Indians defended themselves well, and killed him a great many men, for which reason, though they lost as many themselves, he thought proper to proceed, for the future, by way of negociation; by which he, at last, prevailed upon them to return to their duty, and upon the chiefs to follow him to the Assumption. Irala put up with the promise they gave him of being more submissive for the future. People were surprized at his treating them with so much lenity; but he had just received some private intelligence, which gave him too much uneasiness to let him think of engaging in a new war.

The Emperor having manifested, since the year 1547, a resolution of sending a governor to Paraguay; Don Juan de Sanabria, a very wealthy gentleman, made an offer to his majesty, to transport there, at his own private expence, a good number of families, two hundred and fifty soldiers, and ten Franciscan friars; with wheat, beans, and other kind of seed, to sow the lands with; materials to build ten brigantines to ply on the river; and

goods to be advanced to the Spaniards, in order to enable them to trade with the natives; likewise to form two new eſtabliſhments; one, at the mouth of the river St. Francis, already mentioned, between the iſlands of Cananee, and St. Catherine. The Emperor accepted theſe offers, on condition that Sanabria would, likewiſe, take on board one thouſand quintals of iron, one hundred of ſteel, a number of ſuch handicrafts as are moſt uſeful in a new colony, proviſions for all theſe mouths till the firſt crop, and ſix compleat chapels for an equal number of prieſts that might want them; which Sanabria conſenting to, his majeſty conferred on him all the power he had before conferred on Don Pedro de Mendoza; created him adelantade, governor, captain-general, and alguazil major of the province of Rio de la Plata, with all the appointments attached to theſe dignities granted him the poſt of lieutenant-general for all the places he ſhould build; and all the power neceſſary to explore, and people the country, in what manner he himſelf might think proper. In fine, he recommended to him not to ſuffer above one Regidor in the place of his reſidence, nor permit the ordinary alguazils to raiſe the duties higher than five per cent.

THE new adelantade, having received his commiſſions, repaired to Seville, to forward his armament, and there received freſh orders from the Emperor, of which the principal were, not to allow the Portugueſe of Brazil to carry on any commerce with Paraguay; to require nothing of the friars for their paſſage; and to take out of the royal treaſury three hundred ducats, to ſupply them with every thing they might want for the due celebration of the holy myſteries. But, at the time Don Juan de Sanabria was moſt taken up with the preparations for his voyage, he died, to the great

great regret of all those who knew him, and had the welfare of the province of Paraguay at heart. His death, in fact, was a great loss to this infant colony, which now, more than ever, required the assistance of a governor like him.

THE Emperor having offered Sanabria's son to renew with him the treaty he had made with his father, he accepted it with thanks; and, after several unexpected delays, embarked for his government; but, on entering the bay of Rio de la Plata, he unfortunately perished by shipwreck, with all his company, except a few sailors, who, carrying the news of it to the Assumption, spread a general consternation among the inhabitants. It appears by some historians, that the Emperor sent new commissions to Irala, when he found that young Sanabria would not be ready to set out as soon as it was first expected, though it does not equally appear, that Irala stood in need of such commissions to retain his place, till a successor appointed by the Emperor should arrive, unless, perhaps, those he already had were for a limited time, and the term of them was expired.

THE news of Sanabria's misfortune was soon compensated by that of the Emperor's having, at length, procured the province of la Plata a bishop; a thing much more necessary, than many persons in the colonies are willing to believe. In a consistory held at Rome, the first of July 1547, by Pope Paul III. the city of the Assumption was erected into a bishoprick, under the title of *Oppidum seu Pagus de Rio de la Plata*; and father Juan de Barros, of the order of St. Francis, was appointed to it, but he never took possession of it. On his translation to another see, in 1554, father Pedro de la Torre, of the same order, was named to succeed him, and set out, the year following, for Paraguay.

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The inhabitants of the Assumption, having learned that there appeared some ships at the entrance of Rio de la Plata, by means of fires, which the Indians had agreed with the Spaniards to make from distance to distance on such occasions; and soon after, that the ships brought them a bishop, prepared to receive him, in a manner suitable to his dignity, and expressive of the great hopes they entertained, that his presence would procure them a considerable abatement of the evils most of them groaned under. The secular clergy, very few in number, the friars of St. Francis, and two of the order for the redemption of captives, at the first news of his approach, went out to meet him; and found him attended by no mean retinue of priests and domesticks; the Emperor having thought proper, that he should appear, at his first entrance into his diocese, with a train suitable to his dignity. Irala, who happened to be absent from the Assumption, when the first news of the bishop's approach arrived there, hastened back to receive him; and, on meeting him, fell upon his knees to ask his benediction.

Don Pedro de la Torre had left Spain with three ships full of men, arms, and ammunition, all sent by the Emperor, under the command of Martin de Urua, who came to Spain from Rio de la Plata, in quality of procurator of that Province. He delivered Irala commissions, which continued him in his government, and some orders of his majesty, containing a great many regulations, of which the principal related to what the Spaniards call *Commandes*.

These commandes were a method contrived to reward those, who had contributed to the establishment of the colony, and who, as has been already observed, were stiled the *Conquerors* of Paraguay. We shall soon explain, at large, what these com-

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mandes were. Let it ſuffice, for the preſent, to ſay, that they conſiſted of a certain number of Indian ſubjects, who were obliged to ſerve thoſe to whom they were granted. But, there not being, as yet, enough of theſe poor creatures to ſupply all the Spaniards, who laid claim to their ſervices, the governor, by the advice of the biſhop and all thoſe who had a right of voting in the council, reſolved to form new ſettlements of the natives, of whom they thought themſelves intitled to diſpoſe, at the ſame time that they knew it was impoſſible to do it, till they fixed them to ſome certain ſpot.

1557. The year following, the governor ſent captain Rui Diaz Melgarejo into the province of Guayra; by which was underſtood all the country watered by the Parana, above the great fall and the rivers that flow into it. Melgarejo, after ſurveying a great deal of it, found the ſituation of the city of Guayra but indifferent. He, therefore, took all the inhabitants out of it; and, having tranſported them to the other ſide of the Parana, he there traced out, on the banks of it but three leagues higher, near the place where it receives the little river Piquiri, a new town, which he called *Ciudad Real*. The air here is not over wholſome; but, in other reſpects, the ſituation is very advantageous. Fiſh, and land game eſpecially, are found here in the greateſt plenty. Forty thouſand Indians were given to the inhabitants of the place, who found no great difficulty in bringing them to cultivate the earth, which, in a ſhort time, rewarded their pains with plentiful crops of grain, pulſe, and cotton. Some memoirs ſay, that vines and ſugar-canes were planted here with ſome ſucceſs.

At the ſame time that Irala ſent Melgarejo into the province of Guayra, he diſpatched Nuflo de Chaves, with two hundred and twenty ſoldiers, and three thouſand

thousand five hundred Indians, to make such another establishment among the Xarayes. Chaves, who had his own views, found no situation, in all the country, convenient enough for a town; so turned to the West, on receiving advice, that, by following a course laid down to him, he would meet with Guaranis pretty near the frontiers of Peru. One of the first nations he found on his road was the Chiquites, who obliged him to measure his strength with them; for as war was not his errand, and he was besides, desirous of preserving all the troops he had brought with him, he at first, turned out of their way. But when he thought he had least to fear from those brave Indians, who had given so much uneasiness to the conquerors of Peru, he found them before him, armed with pikes, darts and arrows, defended by a strong pallisadoe surrounded with ditches and trenches; and the whole with pointed stakes of a very hard wood driven into the earth.

Chaves, now finding that the Chiquites were resolved in good earnest not to let him proceed any further, hesitated no longer to attack them; and, at last, obliged them to give way, and take to their heels, though not without the loss of a good many men, who were killed on the spot, and a great many others, who, though very slightly wounded in appearance, died in a few days after, the Chiquites, it seems, having made use of poisoned arrows to defend themselves. Upon this, the surviving Spaniards insisted on Chaves's executing the orders he had received to form an establishment among the Chiquites. This was a fine opportunity to secure the possession of King's Port; but Chaves, it seems, was resolved not to return back to Paraguay.

In the mean time, he received intelligence of the death of Don Domingo Martinez de Irala, who, having made an excursion to an Indian town to

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haſten a fall of wood for the conſtruction of a chapel, he was building in the cathedral of the Aſſumption, was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which obliged him to return to the city, and carried him off in a ſhort time. He had, however, time enough to prepare for his appearance before God, and made the proper uſe of it. The biſhop never ſtirred from him during theſe precious moments; and he expired with ſentiments, which greatly edified the aſſiſtants. As ſoon as he ſaw himſelf near his end, he named Don Gonzalez de Mendoza, his ſon-in-law, lieutenant-general and commander of the province, till the Emperor ſhould name another; and this choice was univerſally approved. Mendoza ſcrupulouſly followed all the views of his father-in-law, in regard to the making of new eſtabliſhments; and, as he had none ſo much at heart, as that Chaves had been directed to attempt among the Xarayes, he immediately diſpatched an expreſs to him with orders to execute what had been already preſcribed to him on that head.

1557-58. THE meſſengers found him on the ſpot, where he had forced the intrenchment of the Chiquites. But he had advanced too far to return, though not without maturely weighing all the conſequences of it. Moſt of his men, he had reaſon to fear, would deſert him; and, in fact, one hundred and forty told him plainly, that, if he was reſolved not to return to the Xarayes, they could follow him no further. To this he made anſwer, that he did not intend to force any man. Upon this, they named for their commander the captain Gonzales Caſco, and ſet out for the Xarayes. Chaves with about ſixty men, who remained with him, continued his march to the plains of the *Tamaguaco*, where he met captain Andrew Manſo, whom the marquis de Ca-

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nette, viceroy of Peru, had sent with a strong detachment to make an establishment there.

THOUGH these two officers met in a country extensive enough to satisfy their ambition, they could not agree; so that, to terminate the differences between them, it was, at last, found requisite to have recourse to the royal audience of la Plata *. The president of this superior court repaired to the field of contention, and assigned to each his district. Upon this, Chaves, leaving his company under the orders of Fernand de Salazar his lieutenant, immediately went to pay his respects to the viceroy at Lima, and gave him to understand, that the country ceded to him was very rich, and would admit of very good establishments. The marquis de Canette, though he knew Chaves only by name, and that he had married one of his relations †, took a great liking to him, and immediately named his son, Don Garcias de Mendoza, governor of all this country, and bestowed the post of king's lieutenant under him upon Chaves, whom he ordered to return there directly. Chaves obeyed, and began the exercise of his charge by founding in this new province a town, called *Santa Cruz de la Sierra;* at the foot of a mountain, and on the banks of a very pretty rivulet. Sixty thousand Indians of the neighbourhood were reduced without fighting; but, as most of them were of the nation called *Moxes*, who were not converted in less than one hundred and fifty years after this period, their submission, during this long interval, was little better than apparent; for they never wore the yoke but when they could not shake

* The royal audiences are superior courts immediately under the viceroy. All that country, to which we give the name of Paraguay, is subject to that of the city of la Plata.

† The daughter of Don Francis de Mendoza beheaded at the Assumption.

ſhake it off. This town has been ſince removed fifty leagues more to the north; and it is very probable, that the Moxes ſince that time entirely recovered their liberty.

In the mean time the Spaniards who had ſeparated from Chaves, and whom all the Indians had followed, made the beſt of their way back to the Xarayes; and from thence, as ſoon as the veſſels they had left with them were refited, to the Aſſumption. The firſt thing they heard on their arrival here was, that the lieutenant-general was dead, and that Don Juan de Ortiz de Vergear, who had been unanimouſly elected to ſucceed him had been publickly declared by the biſhop, in the name of his majeſty, governor, captain-general, and chief juſtice of the province of Rio de la Plata, to the general ſatisfaction of all the inhabitants.

The year following, the Guaranis revolted, probably with a view of being able to ſhake off a yoke, the weight of which grew from day to day more intolerable. Several of them had accompanied Nuflo de Chaves in the expedition we ſpoke of; and, having ſeen the effects of the poiſonous arrows of the Chiquites, had brought home a great quantity of them: They flattered themſelves, it is probable, that with ſuch arms they might ſoon be able to exterminate part of the Spaniards, and oblige the reſt to abandon the country. Be that as it will, their revolt ſoon became a much more ſerious affair than it was at firſt thought to be; and the governor had occaſion for all his forces to ſuppreſs it. The Guaranis had the advantages in the firſt ſkirmiſhes, and, if the poiſon of their arrows had not loſt a great deal of its activity, might poſſibly have accompliſhed their deſign. At leaſt, the Spaniards found it requiſite to treat them with great gentleneſs

thoſe,

those, who first discovered a desire of peace, for fear the whole nation, which was very numerous, should conspire together; and supply with despair, the place of poison, now no longer of any service to them. This method had the desired success; but the Spaniards never benefited by the lesson, which this, and even another affair of the same kind, offered them, so far as to alter their treatment of men, they could not possibly do without, and whose affection, it will appear in the course of this history, they might have easily gained.

1560. THE governor, who had marched in person against the Guaranis, in the neighbourhood of the Assumption, was scarce returned to that city, when an Indian came to require of him, in the name of Melgarejo, speedy succours against those in the neighbourhood of Ciudad Real, who had likewise taken up arms. The Indian added, that he had past through the thick of the enemies, who would have certainly stopt, and, perhaps, killed him, had he not bethought himself of speaking very ill of the Spaniards to all those he was under a necessity of conversing with. The governor seeing him naked, with nothing but his bow and arrows about him, asked him, what proof he could give of his commission. The only answer the Indian gave to this question was, by putting his bow to the governor's hand, and desiring him to examine it well. The governor turned it every way, and examined it on all sides, as did likewise all the assistance, but without discovering any thing extraordinary to attract their attention. The Indian, upon this, taking it back, shewed them in the middle of its bend, and on the inside, a little slit so well closed, as to be scarce discernable; and then drew out a note from Melgarejo, which was to serve him for his credentials.

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The general, after deliberating on the means to ſtifle this revolt, gave the commiſſion to Don Alphonſo de Riquelmi, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf greatly in that of the Guaranis nearer home. Riquelmi, after making ſome difficulty of accepting this commiſſion, on account of ſome miſunderſtanding between him and Melgarejo, ſet out with ſeventy Spaniards. On his arrival, he found that the revolt was almoſt general throughout the whole country, and that Ciudad Real was reduced to the greateſt extremity, being inveſted by the enemy with a ſtrong barricade, which he was obliged to force before he could get into it. Though the governor was not overjoyed to ſee him, and betrayed his ſentiments by the manner in which he received him, be begged him to make a ſally on the enemy, excuſing himſelf from doing it on account of a fluxion in his eyes, which, he ſaid, almoſt deprived him of his ſight.

1560-1. Riquelmi conſented; and, at the head of one hundred Spaniards, and a body of Indians, in whom, however, he placed no great confidence, forced the barricades, purſued the Indians to their neareſt towns, ſeized ſome of their chiefs, whom he immediately ordered to be hanged; and, continuing his march, ſent for the reſt of their Caciques, who came in on the firſt notice, and applied for Peace in the moſt ſubmiſſive poſture. He did not grant it, however, till he had taken ſecurity againſt their inconſtancy. This done, he embarked his troops on the Parana; and hearing that there ſtill remained in the heart of the country a great number of Indians, who had vowed the deſtruction of Ciudad Real, and the death of all the Spaniards, he ſet out in queſt of them.

After traverſing a very thick wood, he diſcovered a body of Indians pretty advantageouſly poſted

posted in a grove of pines, where he attacked them with so much resolution, that they, at last, fled in great disorder; but, being joined by great numbers of others Indians, they faced about, and suddenly surrounded Riquelmi in a very long and very narrow valley. Though he thoroughly comprehended the greatness of his danger, instead of suffering himself to be disheartened by it, he put on the bolder face; and, by his intrepid appearance, disconcerted the enemy to such a degree, that they permitted him to recover the plain, where a great number of Indians were encamped. These he immediately charged, killed a vast number of them, took a great many of those who had escaped prisoners, and among them many chiefs, who, to obtain their lives, told him they had been forced to take up arms by the most powerful Caciques of their nation, and by those who had been given in command to the Spaniards, and were, at any rate, for shaking off the Spanish yoke. Riquelmi, after spending all the winter following in re-establishing tranquility and order in this province, returned to the Assumption, where he was received, as it were, in triumph, and amidst the acclamations of all the inhabitants.

The governor, who, probably, had not as yet received his commissions, but intended to send Melgarejo into Spain to solicit them, and give the Emperor an account of the present state of his province, thought he could not trust Ciudal Real, and the province of Guayra, to better hands than those which had delivered the one and pacified the other. He, therefore, sent for Melgarejo, for whose reception he had ready one of the largest and best built vessels that had been as yet seen in Paraguay. But in the middle of the night, just as the crew were on the point of going on board, she appeared all in a blaze, and was reduced to ashes, in spite of all

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the efforts of the inhabitants to ſave her. A endeavours to discover the incendiary proved equally ineffectual; but he was ſuſpected to be ſomebody, who bore no good-will to the governor, and grudged him a poſt, of which he thought himſelf more worthy.

1560-65 Upon this, ſome perſons adviſed Vergara to apply to the Viceroy of Peru for commiſſions to confirm him in the government; and, though he could not, in all probability, take any ſtep more detrimental to himſelf and to his province, he ſo much reliſhed it, that, as ſoon as he had ſuppreſſed a new revolt among the Indians, in doing which a great deal of blood was ſpilt on both ſides, he reſolved to wait on the Viceroy in perſon, and ſpared no expence to appear to advantage. The comptroller, Philip de Caceres;* the factor, Peter de Orantes; the captains Peter de Segura and Chriſtopher de Saavedra; the attorney-general, Rui Gomez Maldonado; and a great many other gentlemen would be of the expedition. Nay, to the great ſurprize of moſt perſons, the biſhop himſelf thought proper to make one with them, attended by fourteen regular or ſecular prieſts.

Vergara appointed Don Juan de Ortega to command at the Aſſumption during his abſence, and cauſed himſelf to be eſcorted by three thouſand Spaniards, and an equal number of Indians. Nuflo de Chaves, who was now returned to the Aſſumption for his wife and children, ſet out along with him; and, on his arrival among the Itatines, perſuaded three thouſand of them to follow him, by making them the moſt magnificent promiſes. The governor had no ſooner entered the territory of Santa Cruz, then Chaves, ſeeing his hands thus ſtrengthened, declared to him, that he alone had a

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* Probably the ſon of the ancient comptroller, and the ſame who accompanied Don Alvarez in this laſt voyage.

right to command there; upon which, nobody knowing who to obey, the greateſt confuſion and diſorder enſued, and was ſoon followed by a great ſcarcity of proviſions, which, along with the great fatigues of the journey, proved fatal to numbers. The Itatines, eſpecially, ſuffered ſo ſeverely, that they thought proper to ſtop ſhort, and build a town in a place, where the lands had the appearance of being very fertile, within thirty leagues of Santa Cruz, which the Spaniards and the reſt of the Indians made great marches to reach. But here they found the ſame ſcarcity, they had experienced on their journey; and a great number of the Indians belonging to the governor of Rio de la Plata periſhed by it. At the ſame time, the natives of the country roſe up in arms, and the contagion ſpread even beyond the Guapay. Upon this, Chaves marched againſt the rebels with fifty Spaniards; but not till he had given orders to his lieutenant, Fernand de Salazar to diſarm the governor of Rio de la Plata, and all thoſe who accompanied him, and hinder them from proceeding to Peru, till he was returned from his expedition. But, Vergara having diſpatched a courier to la Plata to complain of this violence, the royal audience forbid Salazar to ſtop them any longer. Vergara, on his arrival at this capital of las Charcas, after many eſcapes from the inveteracy of the Indians, who were enemies to the Spaniards, and ſuffering a great deal by famine, found that ſtill greater mortifications awaited him here.

There had been laid before the royal audience no leſs than one hundred and ten heads of accuſation againſt him, ſome of them very weighty; particularly, his having drawn from the province, and at a great expence, ſo many Spaniards and Indians, of which great numbers had periſhed on the journey. This ſovereign court, however, declared to him that

that they did not intend to judge of all these charges, but referred him to the licentiate, Don Lope Garcia de Castro, governor and captain-general of Peru, and president of the royal audience of Lima, where he resided. To this capital, therefore, Vergara immediately repaired; and, on his arrival there, was stript of his government, and ordered to appear before the royal council of the Indies, to answer all the charges brought against him. His government was given to Don Juan Ortiz de Zarate, an officer who had given proofs of his merit; but on condition, however, that he should obtain commissions directly from the king.

1566. The year following, the new governor of Rio de la Plata past over from Peru into Spain, after naming Philip Caceres his lieutenant-general, and distributing to him and his attendants every thing requisite for their journey to the Assumption. Philip II. received him very graciously, and gave him the amplest powers, and the wisest instructions, for the advancement of the colony, the civilization of the natives, and the solid establishment of the christian religion in these vast countries.

1566-6-7. The bishop, the lieutenant-general, and the remains of the Spaniards and Indians who left Paraguay with Vergara, and who, it is probable, set out much sooner on their return home, took their road through Santa Cruz de la Sierra, where they found Chaves returned from his expedition, and were very well received by him. He even escorted them, for some time, with a good detachment; but he had his views, in doing them this politeness, for he seduced on the road as many of them as he possibly could; particularly, a very able miner, called Munos. On their arrival in the country where the Itatines had stopt, they learned, that

these Indians bore no good-will to the Spaniards, whose resentment, besides, they dreaded, because they had separated from them without their consent. Chavez, therefore, thought it most prudent to turn out of their way a little, either to avoid giving them any occasion of jealousy, or to have the better opportunity of discovering their real intentions.

BEING informed, on his arrival near an Indian town, that several Caciques were assembled there, he entered it on horseback, with twelve soldiers only; and alighted in the publick place. Several Indians immediately flocked there, seemingly to welcome him, and conducted him to a very neat cabin, where they invited him to repose himself a little. As he was greatly fatigued, he, without further ceremony, threw himself into a hammock, and took off his helmet the better to enjoy the benefit of the fresh air, and sleep more at his ease. But he had scarce time to settle himself, when a cacique came behind him, and with a violent blow of a macana, killed him upon the spot. His twelve soldiers were all massacred at the same time, except a trumpeter, called Alexander, who, covered with wounds as he was, had time enough to get on horseback again, and inform Don Diego de Mendoza, who followed with the rest of the soldiers, of what had happened; and who, without this notice, would have probably shared the same fate.

1568. CHAVEZ, before his separation from the lieutenant-general, had promised to wait for him at an appointed place. Caceres, therefore, not finding him there at his arrival, began to be very uneasy about him, when some Indians came to advise him of his tragical death. Upon this, Caceres pushed on; and, at last, arrived, without any accident, on the banks of the Paraguay. He had

sent

ſent before him ſix ſoldiers to weigh up the barks and canoes he had ſunk in it, in order to return on board them to the Aſſumption; but ſome Payaguas and other Indians, having diſcovered them, fell upon them, and carried them into ſlavery. Caceres himſelf arrived ſoon after this misfortune; and hearing what had happened, offered to redeem his ſoldiers; but the Payaguas would not, at firſt, let him have back above three of them; and theſe, too, they ſold him very dear. Some days after, however, they ſent him the reſt, but inſiſted on a ſtill higher ranſom, and even obliged him to advance.

He then bent his march towards the country of the Itatines; and, on his approach to their principal town, found himſelf ſuddenly inveſted, at a time his ſoldiers were working their way through a very bad ſtep. The attack of the Itatines was both very warm, and very well concerted. The Spaniards, animated by their biſhop and clergy, who exhorted them to put all their confidence in the Almighty, fought, as well as their Indians, with great bravery and order, notwithſtanding the badneſs of their ſituation, and the inveteracy of their enemies; and, having gained a little ground, and recovered a little ſpirits, were preparing to make their beſt efforts, when all on a ſudden the Itatines appeared as if ſeized with a ſudden panic; and, the next moment, betook themſelves to flight in a moſt precipitate manner.

This was not the only rencounter Caceres had with the Itatines, whoſe parties ſeemed to relieve each other regularly, in order to harraſs him, and diſabled ſome of his men in every ſkirmiſh. At laſt, when he had got within fifty leagues of the Aſſumption, he no longer found on his road any but allies, vying with one another to ſupply him with proviſions and refreſhments, and offer him all the other aſſiſtance in their power. The very day of

his arrival in the capital, which was on the first of the year 1569, he assembled the council, even before he quitted his arms, to shew them his commission as Lieutenant-General of the Province; and was received as such, without any opposition.

1569. THE first orders he gave were to finish and refit the brigantines and barks in the port, that they might be ready on the first notice; and, the beginning of the year following, he set out, on board them, with one hundred and fifty men, for the mouth of the river, in order to receive the succours, which the governor had promised to send him with all convenient speed. But, seeing no ships arrive, though he waited there for some time, and judging his presence more requisite at the capital, he left a letter of advice in a bottle fastened to a great cross, which he caused to be erected on the banks of one of the islands of St. Gabriel, and set out on his return to the Assumption.

HE had scarce reached it, when a private quarrel, which had some time subsisted between him and the bishop of Paraguay, broke out in an open rupture; and the whole city divided into two parties, both ready to proceed to the last extremities. But what was pretty odd in this affair, several clergymen sided with the Lieutenant-General, and some officers declared for the bishop. Caceres made those who opposed him, feel all the weight of his authority; and the bishop excommunicated him with the principal ministers of his violences. Trouble and confusion now universally prevailed; and things, at last, came to such a pass, that there was no knowing a friend from an enemy. The lieutenant-general having been one day advertised, that a resolution had been taken in the bishop's council to put him under arrest, he immediately laid hands upon all those he most suspected, beginning with the bishop's steward, Don Alphonso de Segovia; and then took

took ſhipping to return to the iſlands of St. Gabriel.

On his arrival at the place where he had left his letter; he detached a brigantine to examine, if any ſhip appeared in the bay; and, being informed there did not, left more letters in ſeveral places and embarked again. He had brought with him the biſhop's ſteward; and took it into his head to ſend him to Tucuman; but thoſe he ordered to conduct him there, unable to penetrate into that province, of which the inhabitants of Paraguay as yet knew very little beſides the name, brought him back again. Caceres, at laſt, after an abſence of four months, arrived at the Aſſumption, where he found the fire of diſſention at a greater height, than ever; nor did his preſence extinguiſh it. Being giving to underſtand that his life was in danger, he confined all thoſe whom he happened to ſuſpect of any deſigns upon it. He even gave orders to ſtrangle in priſon, a gentleman from Seville, called Pedro de Eſquivel, and fix his head upon the gallows; then publiſhed, by ſound of trumpet, orders not to hold any correſpondence with the biſhop, under the ſevereſt penalties; and being informed that his king's lieutenant, Don Martin Suarez de Toledo, had ſeen the prelate in private, he immediately ſtripped him of all his employments.

Upon this, the principal inhabitants of the
1570. city, not thinking their lives and liberties any longer in ſafety, retired to the country, and the biſhop ſhut himſelf up in the houſe of the fathers of mercy, where he was not long permitted to remain quiet. The lieutenant-general himſelf was very far from being at his eaſe. His fears made him ſtartle at every ſhadow, and he never appeared without a guard of fifty ſoldiers, which he beſides often changed. The biſhop, at laſt, loſt patience; and, one day, as the lieutenant-general was enter-

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ing the cathedral to hear maſs, ordered him to be ſeized, and impriſoned under a ſtrong guard; and even bolted and chained. His confinement laſted a whole year, at the end of which, the biſhop himſelf conducted him to Spain; God thus permitting, that he ſhould be treated in the ſame manner, in which, his father, if not himſelf, had treated the virtuous Don Alvarez Nunez de Vera Cabeca de Vaca. How this tranſaction was reliſhed at court, I have not been able to diſcover. But it is certain, neither the lieutenant-general, nor the prelate, ever returned to Paraguay.

1570-73. As ſoon as theſe two champions were embarked, Don Martin Suarez de Toledo took upon him to exerciſe, not only without the conſent, but even againſt the will of the council, the functions of the charge, of which the lieutenant-general had ſo lately ſtripped him. Some time after, on the laſt day of September 1735, Juan de Garay, a Biſcayen gentleman, founded the city of Santafe, about ten leagues higher than the place, where *Rio Salado*, coming from Tucuman, falls into Rio de la Plata; and, ſome years after, another was founded, under the name of Xeres, in the latitude of twelve degrees, and thirty leagues to the eaſt of the Paraguay; but by whom, and upon what occaſion, is not mentioned.

To return to the founder of Santafe, after he had brought his town to ſome form, he reſolved to gain ſome knowledge of the neighbourhood, eſpecially to the weſt, where he wiſhed to be able to extend his diſtrict beyond the river. Having cauſed a bark and ſome pirogues to be built for this purpoſe, he embarked on board them with fifty ſoldiers, and entered Rio Salado, on the banks of which he was every where pretty well received by the Indians he met with, till one day that he found himſelf ſurrounded by them in ſuch a manner, as gave him juſt cauſe to ſuſpect their ſincerity. He had ſcarce

scarce put himself in a condition not to be surprized by them, when the whole country appeared in a blaze. Upon this he immediately dispatched orders to the master of the bark, which he had left behind, probably because she drew too much water, to send one of his men to the round-top, to see and discover the cause of so sudden and general a conflagration; and the messenger immediately returned with word, that the country was quite covered with armed Indians, marching towards him at a great rate.

He immediately drew out his handful of men, and exhorted them not to flinch at the sight of this rabble, which would not stand the discharge of their fire-arms. The next moment, a soldier, whom he had posted on an eminence, sent to inform him that he saw a man, on horse-back, pursuing a body of these Indians; and he himself soon discovered six horsemen, driving the same body towards him with such fury, that the poor wretches, to be more at liberty, threw away their bows and arrows, crying out, to his great surprize, that they were pursued by Spaniards. Upon this, he immediately dispatched an Indian, who was greatly attached to him, and knew the country well, with a letter to the Spaniards, with whom he soon returned. The account they gave of themselves was, that they were under the orders of Don Jerom Lewis de Cabrera, governor of Tucuman, who, having founded a town in this province, on the last day of September 1573, by the name of New Cordova, had sent them to reconnoitre the country; and that this expedition was the cause of that alarm, which he had perceived amongst the inhabitants of it.

They then took leave of him, in order to rejoin their general; and Garay returned to Santafe. The governor of Tucuman, on the arrival of his party, sent Onufro de Aguilar, to declare to Garay, that

Santafe

Santafe belonged to his government, and to summon him to acknowledge him for his governor and captain-general. Aguilar executed his commission with the forms required by law, not only in regard to Garay himself, but likewise the inhabants of his new town. To this summons they answered, that Santafe, having been founded by orders of him who commanded at the Assumption, and of the council of the province of Rio de la Plata, it was before them, of course, that the governor of Tucuman should lay his pretensions. In the mean time, three canoes full of Indians arrived at Santafe, and delivered Garay a letter, from the Adelantade Don John Ortiz de Zarate, dated at Port St. Gabriel.

In this letter, Don John, who, on his arrival at the mouth of Rio de la Plata, had been informed of the foundation of Santafe, appointed Garay his king's lieutenant; and, in quality of Adelantade, chief justice of Santafe, acquainting him, at the same time, that he was in great want of provisions, and a reinforcement of men to awe the Charuas. who prevented his sending for any to the continent. He, likewise, enclosed him copies of his own commissions, and some royal cedules, which contained little more than a confirmation of them. Aguilar, who had not as yet left Santafe, having nothing to reply when shewed them commissions, immediately set out for Cordova.

As yet we have had no occasion to speak of Tucuman, in the course of this history; but it is impossible to proceed any further, without taking notice of the transactions in that province, and even Chaco, which divides it, in many places, from what was then called the province of Rio de la Plata, hitherto the sole object of our attention. To prove this necessity the better, and render more intelligible what I have to say of these two provinces, I

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think it will be proper to begin by making the reader well acquainted with their extent; their situation; their original inhabitants; in what manner the Spaniards settled in the first; and all the other most remarkable particulars of both.

TUCUMAN is bounded, to the east, by Chaco, taken in the extent given it by father Locano, a jesuit, the only historian, who has given us any account of it; to the west by the province of *Cuyo*, dependant upon Chili, and by the mountains of Peru; to the north and north-west, by the province of las Charcas; to the north-east, by that of Santa Cruz de la Sierra; and is, all, contained between the twenty-third and twenty-second degrees of south latitude. There is one thing very remarkable in this province, and that is, the nearer you approach the tropic, the colder it is. This is owing to several chains of mountains, some of them exceedingly high, that lie near its northern extremity. Its figure pretty much resembles that of a cone, with its vertex under the tropic. The base may measure about sixty leagues from east to west. Its name is that of the first nation, met by those who entered it on the side of Peru.

MOST of the northern nations live in marshes, where their chief food consists of fish. The southern nations are perpetually roving from place to place in an extensive country, where they subsist by hunting and fowling. It is reported, that human skeletons have been found there more than twenty feet long; but this is not the only fable, that has gained credit, concerning these remote quarters of South-America. The same stature has been attributed to some people in the neighbourhood of the streights of Magellan, known, in a great many relations, by the name of *Patagonians*. We shall find in the course of this history, that all their wonders have been advanced with-

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out almoſt any foundation. In the heart of Tucuman, the men are, in general, of a lower ſtature, and more ſtupid, than thoſe, whom the firſt adventurers found in the vallies of the Cordilliere of Peru, and equally ſavage and indolent. There are ſome nations, who uſe no other ſhelter, but grottoes they make themſelves under ground, where the day-light very ſeldom penetrates. Thoſe next to Peru and the province of las Charcas, are not quite ſo deſtitute, as the reſt, of the conveniencies of life; they live in towns. Some have copper and ſilver, which they receive from the province of las Charcas, in which Potoſi is ſituated; but they ſeem to ſet very little value upon theſe metals.

There are, in Tucuman, ſheep about the ſize of a ſmall camel, but very ſtrong loined, for which reaſon they make uſe of them for carrying burthens. Their wool is ſo extremely fine, that, when made into ſtuffs, it can ſcarce be diſcerned from ſilk. Lions and tygers are pretty common here. The firſt are ſmall, and not much to be feared; but the ſecond are larger and fiercer than thoſe of any other country. I have already taken notice of the ſame difference between theſe two ſpecies of animals, in ſpeaking of the countries watered by the Paraguay and Rio de la Plata; and it may be ſaid to hold good of all this part of the continent of South-America. The Indians get the tygers out of the woods, by ſetting fire to them; and then kill them, in great numbers, with their arrows, at which they have a very good aim; but, then they muſt be extremely wary and nimble to hinder the tygers from being before hand with them.

The principal rivers of Tucuman are thoſe moſt commonly called *Rio Salado*, and *Rio Dolce*. Next to theſe the moſt conſiderable is *Rio Tercero*, which I have already taken notice of. But, though

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the two firſt rivers receive ſeveral ſmall ones, it is but here and there they have, in the dry ſeaſons, water enough to carry pirogues. Both have their ſources in the mountains of Peru, and very often change their names. Rio Salado falls into Rio de la Plata; and Rio Dolce loſes itſelf in ſome lakes, called *Pavangos*. There are ſeveral others, which ſteal into the boſom of the earth, in the ſame manner they iſſue from it. Moſt of them even run ſo ſhort a way, and have ſo little water, that no names have been given them, at leaſt in maps. Almoſt all of them change the names given them by the inhabitants, at every town they paſs through. The foreſts are full of ſprings, and at almoſt every ſtep are to be found little lakes and marſhes, which never dry. So much water muſt contribute greatly to refreſh and fertilize the land. Accordingly, though it never rains in Tucuman during ſix months of the year, the earth, kept moiſt by the inundations naturally produced by the almoſt conſtant rains during the other ſix months, yield, with due cultivation, ſeveral ſorts of grain, pulſe and eſculent roots.

TUCUMAN was pretty well inhabited, when the Spaniards entered Peru. The nations neareſt that empire had ſubmitted to the Incas. Others were governed by Caciques, who acknowledged no ſuperior. Thoſe, who roved about from place to place, were ſeparated into families, which acknowledged no maſters but their ſeveral heads. The foreſts between Rio Dolce and Rio Salado abound with honey and wax. Cotton, carouge, cochenil, and paſtel, are to be met with in many places. The carouge laſts the whole year, and ſome nations make their ordinary food of it. Formerly the principal riches of this country conſiſted in cotton clothes, which paſſed current for

money

money among the inhabitants, and were sent, in great quantities, to Potosi.

They likewise fed great quantities of large and small cattle. The Spaniards, who first penetrated into this province, had turned loose, into the plains and desarts, horses and oxen, which they had brought with them from Peru. These animals multiplied to a prodigious degree; so that the new masters of the country, freed from the care of breeding or feeding them, and having nothing to do but hunt them down, lived for some time pretty much at their ease. But, too little pleased with this happy mediocrity, they despised it to look out for gold; and, too idle to supply the place of it by labour, for their enquiries produced but very little, they threw the whole weight of providing for their subsistence upon the poor Indians, and thereby made of them irreconcilable enemies, who have often ravaged not only their separate habitations, but even their towns; so that Tucuman, though so near Potosi and Peru, is one of the poorest colonies the Spaniards have in the new world.

The weather is so excessively cold, in some parts of Tucuman, during the winter, that it is not an uncommon thing to find animals, that have perished by it. Not only it never rains, but there seldom appears so much as a cloud, in that season. Spring is ushered in by such heavy showers, that, in towns, the streets resemble so many rivers; and, in the open country, the waters, united in the bottoms, form very large lakes. These showers are accompanied with thunder and lightening, and hail, often as large as a hen's egg. Summer, too, has its inconveniences. The heat then produces such prodigious quantities of bugs, that the inhabitants have no way to avoid them but by sleeping in the open air in their gardens. Nor is

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that alone quite ſufficient. Yet, the air of Tucuman is ſaid to be pretty wholſome. Nuflo de Chaves ſeems to have the beſt title to the honour of having diſcovered this province, though ſome Spaniards had croſſed it as far as the Rio de la Plata; for, he penetrated more than once into it, and gave an account of many things relating to the northern parts of it not before taken notice of.

Be that as it will, Tucuman was not ſettled till the year 1542, when Vaca de Caſtro, viceroy of Peru, after defeating the young Almagro, diſtributed among his captains, the governments, his victory had enabled him to confer; and gratifying with that of Tucuman, though not as yet conquered, Don Diego de Rojas; who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his fidelity and valour during the civil wars. Rojas entered his province with three hundred men, and ſurveyed part of it; but, after meeting with a pretty good reception from ſeveral nations, was, the year following, wounded by a poiſoned arrow, in a ſkirmiſh with ſome others, and died of the wound, having refuſed the aſſiſtance of an Indian woman, who promiſed to cure him.

Upon this, Guttierez whom the viceroy of Peru had named his king's lieutenant, thought to aſſume the command of the army; but, as he had ſome miſunderſtanding with Don Diego de Rojas, the officers, and even the ſoldiers, refuſed to obey him, and choſe Don Franciſco de Mendoza, who had accompanied Guttierez, as his friend, for their general. Guttierez, however, inſiſting on his right, Mendoza made the troops conſent to his ſharing the command with him. They then made ſome excurſions together; but ſoon began to quarrel. Upon this, Mendoza put Guttierez under arreſt, and ſent him with ſix of his adherents, under a

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guard of thirty horsemen to Peru. He then required an oath of fidelity from the army. This the camp-master Nicholas de Heredia opposed, as Guttierez had not as yet received a commission from the viceroy of Peru; but, being the only person of this sentiment, he was soon obliged to swear like the rest.

In the mean time, Mendoza did nothing but ramble up and down the country, and made no establishment in any place. At length, the president de la Gasta, in 1549, appointed Don Juan Nunes de Prado governor of Tucuman; gave him troops to keep the Indians in awe; and families to people the country; charged him to take, along, with him, priests both regular and secular; and gave him instructions in the same strain with those he had already given to Don Diego Centeno, for the province of Rio de la Plata. The fathers Alphonso Trueno, and Gaspar de Caravaia, of the order of the Merci, set out with him, and were the first to publish the gospel in Tucuman. But their mission would have been much more successful had Prado lived longer, or his successors followed the instructions he had received, with equal exactness.

The governor, to secure an easy passage into his province, founded, in the valley of Calchaqui, in the latitude of twenty-four degrees and thirty minutes, a town, which he called *Saint Michael*. But it subsisted but for a short time; for we are not to confound it with another town of the same name, which we shall hereafter have occasion to mention. From the valley of Calchaqui the governor entered upon the plains, and caused crosses to be erected in some places, and constituted them so many asylums, which wrought in the Indians so great a respect for this sign of our salvation, that they planted crosses, like them, in [illegible]

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their towns. Some time after this, Don Francis de Vilagras, who was marching, at the head of ſome troops, from Peru into Chili, having taken his rout by Tucuman, encroached upon Prado's authority, pretending that this province depended upon Chili. Prado took up arms to ſupport his right, but had the misfortune to be beat and made priſoner. Vilagras, however, ſatisfied with having humbled his adverſary, ſet him free, on condition that he would acknowledge the governor of Chili for his ſuperior.

PRADO ſurvived this diſgrace but a ſhort time. Soon after his death, Don Pedro de Valdivia, conqueror and governor of Chili, ſent Don Franciſco d'Aguirre to Tucuman, to command there as his lieutenant general. D'Aguirre ſoon became governor; founded, in 1562, the town of Santiago, in the latitude of twenty-eight degrees, in a very hot climate, and a ſandy but well watered ſpot, on the banks of Rio Dolce, which forms, in this place, a kind of lake or rather pond, from whence the town has obtained the name of *Santiago de l'Eſtero*. Two years after this, according to the moſt common opinion, the town of St. Michael was transferred twenty leagues north-weſt of Santiago to a moſt delightful ſpot, in a very fertile country, on a little river, that falls into Rio Dolce, pretty near the higheſt mountain of the frontier, called *Quebrada de Calchaqui*.

IN 1567, Don Diego de Heredia, whom father Locano, in his deſcription of Chaco, ſtigmatizes as the uſurper of the government of Tucuman, built, on the banks of Rio Salado, a town, which he called *our Lady of Talavera of Madrid*, but which is better known under the name of *Eſteco*, being that of the place where it ſtood; for now it no longer ſubſiſts.

In 1582, the licentiate, Don Hernando de Lerma, governor of this province, founded, in the valley of Salta, a town under the name of *San Philippe de Lerma*, in the latitude of about twenty-four degrees and fifteen minutes; but it has been almost always known by the name of *Salta*. This town is charmingly situated in a valley surrounded with mountains at a pretty good distance, from whence issue several rivulets, which render it extremely fertile, and enable it to feed cattle enough for its own consumption, and that of the neighbouring provinces. A little before this period, the Spaniards founded, fifteen leagues more to the north, another town, under the name of *San Salvador de Jujuy*, which, after being twice destroyed by the Indians of Chaco, was rebuilt for the third time, in 1593. These three last towns were built by way of barrier to Tucuman, against the Indians of Chaco, who have never ceased annoying them, and have several times ruined all the smaller settlements in their neighbourhood.

It appearing equally proper to fortify this province to the south in the year 1558, Don Juan Gomez de Zurita, its governor, founded, on the road from Santiago to Chili, a fortress, to which he gave the name of Canette, and which was since, when erected into a city, called *New London*, in honour of Mary queen of England, consort of Philip the II. king of Spain. But there remains nothing of it at present.

Corduba or Cordoya, at present the most considerable place in Tucuman, and the see of the bishop of that province, is situated in the heart of the country, almost mid-way between *Santafe* and *Saint John de la Frontera*, which depends upon Chili. Corduba has no river, but only a little stream, which,

which, after a very ſhort courſe, is loſt in a lake. It, however, ſupplies the town with great plenty of fiſh; and there is, beſides, abundance of other game in the neighbourhood. Corduba has all the advantages a great town can wiſh for; fertile fields, and agreeable hills planted by the Spaniards with vines, which yield a great deal of wine. It is, in ſhort, as it were, the center of the trade and communication between Buenos Ayres, Chili, and the province of las Charcas. The Jeſuits have a great college here; an univerſity of ſome reputation; a noviceſhip; and a ſeminary for young noblemen, called Montſerrat. It is, perhaps, the only place in this province, which deſerves the name of a city, and has the appearance of one.

Father Gaetan Catenio, a modeneze Jeſuit, who ſet out for Paraguay in 1728, and finiſhed his courſe there in a ſhort time, deſcribes it, in one of his letters, which the late ſignor Muratori annexed to his laſt work, intitled, *Il Chriſtianeſimo felice nelle Miſſioni de Padri della Compagnia de Jeſu, nel Paraguay*, that of *Rioja*, of which we ſhall ſpeak preſently, and where the Jeſuits have a college, as compoſed of ſeveral hamlets, ſeparated by fields covered with trees, buſhes and briars; ſo that, on his arrival there, he was pretty much ſurprized to find himſelf in the middle of the town, and pretty near his college, at a time he thought himſelf a great way from it. All the towns, however, are not equally country-like. Some of them are ſurrounded with a palliſade, at leaſt; though few of them are better built. In this reſpect, however, and that of populouſneſs, they are equal to moſt of the towns of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, the capitals excepted.

Don Juan Gomez Zurita was the firſt to give a regular form to this province. He made war ſucceſsfully againſt the Indians, and ſpread ſo far

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the terror of the Spaniſh arms, that, on taking, in 1558, the numbers of thoſe whom he had ſubjected by force or by fair means, he found in the province of Santiago alone, no leſs than eighty thouſand, who paid tribute to his catholic majeſty. But Zurita, notwithſtanding this ſucceſs, incurred the diſpleaſure of the governor of Chili, who, in 1561, ſent Don Gregorio Caſtanenda there to command in his ſtead. Zurita refuſed to give up his poſt; but he defended it ill, was defeated, and ſent priſoner to Peru. The province, however, did not thrive the better for this revolution, eſpecially after Caſtanenda demoliſhed the town, called New London. In 1563, therefore, it was found neceſſary to ſend back there Don Franciſco d'Aguirre, who ſucceeded pretty well in putting things upon the old footing. But he was not allowed time to enjoy the fruits of his labours; for he was ſoon after called back to Peru, when Tucuman, it ſeems, was declared immediately ſubject to the viceroys of Peru, and within the juriſdiction of the royal audience of las Charcas.

Tucuman, as I have already ſaid, is ſeparated from Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, which for many years made but one province, by the country called Chaco, which, though not as yet reduced, is ſo connected with the object of this hiſtory, that I cannot but give ſome account of it. I have already obſerved, that Father Locano gives this province an extent, which confines, on the Weſt, thoſe of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata to the great river known by theſe two names; but this, however, without pretending to abridge the rights of theſe two provinces, or of Tucuman, and las Charcas, on the ſide of which he does not pretend to aſſign it any bounds. Indeed the governors themſelves of Tucuman and las Charcas cannot aſſign it any, on account of the perpetual neceſſity

cessity they are under of repressing the hostilities of the inhabitants of Chaco.

Be that as it will, I shall now communicate to the reader, what the historian, whom I have just cited, tells us of this extensive country. The name of *Chaco* seems to be of a new date; for there is no mention made of it by this name in the life of St. Solano, of the order of St. Francis, who published the gospel in every part of this country. But in the Quitchoane language, which is the original language of Peru, they call *Chacu*, those great flocks of deer, goats and such other wild animals, which the inhabitants of this part of America drive together when they hunt them; and this name was given to the country we speak of, because, at the time Francis Pizarro made himself master of a great part of the Peruvian empire, a great number of its inhabitants took refuge there. Of *Chacu*, which the Spaniards pronounce Chacou, custom has made *Chaco*. It appears, that, at first, they comprehended nothing under this name but the country lying between the mountains of the Cordilliere, the Pilco Mayo, and the Red River; and that they extended it, in process of time, in proportion as other nations joined the Peruvians, who had taken refuge there to defend their liberties against the Spaniards.

All those, who speak of Chaco, agree in representing it as one of the finest countries in the world; but this is exactly true in regard to that district alone, which the Peruvians first occupied. A chain of mountains, which begins within sight of Corduba, and, after a turn from South to North, extends to the new town of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, forms, on that side, so strong a barrier, especially in what they call the *Cordilliere of the Chiriguanes*, as to render it inaccessible in all these places. Several of these mountains are so very high, that the

vapours of the earth never reach their ſummits; but the winds here are ſo impetuous, that they often carry off the travellers from their horſes. The ſight of the precipices, by which they are ſeparated, would alone be ſufficient to turn the brain of the moſt reſolute traveller, if the thick clouds hanging on their ſides did not intercept the proſpect.

We can ſcarce doubt, that theſe mountains, which are one of the branches of the great Cordilliere, contain ſeveral mines. Nay ſome have been lately diſcovered; but we are not told what they contain. It is, however, a conſtant tradition in Peru, that the *Chicas* and the *Orejones*, who formerly inhabited theſe very mountains, and of whom ſeveral took refuge in Chaco, and in the iſland in the middle of the lake of the Xarayes, as I have already ſaid, uſed to bring both gold and ſilver to Cuſco, the capital of Peru, before the arrival of the Spaniards in that empire. There, likewiſe, iſſue from theſe mountains ſome rivers, whoſe waters are, in general, very wholeſome, and contribute greatly to fertilize the province; not to ſpeak of thoſe, which flow northwards; as for example, the *Guapay* and the *Pirapiti*, which fall into the *Mamore*, and with the Mamore, as I have before taken notice, into the *Manon*. The moſt conſiderable of thoſe, which traverſe Chaco, are the *Pilco Mayo*, *Rio Solado*, and *Rio Vermejo*.

The Pilco Mayo is the largeſt river of Chaco, and, would, alone, be ſufficient to enrich this province, if it was navigable at all ſeaſons; but, in ſome places, it has too little water; and too much, in ſome others. It iſſues from the mountains, which ſeparate Potoſi from Peru; and it is affirmed, that a little river called *Tarapaya*, which after watering Potoſi, falls into the Pilco Mayo, pretty near its ſource, carries into it a conſiderable quantity of ſilver, which it is impoſſible to ſave, becauſe it ſinks

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into the mud. Some miners, it is said, have calculated, that the silver thus lost in the fifty-six years, from the year 1545, to 1601, amounted to no less than forty millions. It is added, that there passes so much quicksilver, by the same channel, into the Pilco Mayo, that for several leagues together no fish can live in it. The Pilco Mayo, on its leaving the *Plains* of *Manso*, which it traverses, divides into two branches, navigable for pretty large boats. The most northerly of these branches is almost salt, and a great deal of salt-petre is found on its banks. There is no fish found in the Pilco Mayo, till it has reached Chaco; when it, likewise, begins to abound with alligators.

The two branches of this river fall into the Paraguay; one of them, a little above the Paraguay's confluence with the Parana; and the other, a little above the Assumption, which by that means comes to be in an island, whose main breadth is five leagues; and length, fourscore. This island is pretty low, and, consequently very marshy, to a certain distance from the separation of the two branches. In the rainy season the two branches are confounded; for they then swell to such a degree, that they meet not only each other, but even Rio Vermejo. In the tract of land subject to these inundations, there are several lakes, which never dry up. Garcilasso de la Vega tells us, that the name of Pilco Mayo, or *Pilco Mayu*, signifies, in the Quitchoane language, *River of Sparrows*; and that the *Araguay*, the most northerly of its two branches, signifies, in the Guarani language, *River of understanding*, because it requires a great deal of precaution in those who navigate it, not to lose the main stream, and get into the lake, which communicates with it, and forms a kind of labyrinth, from which they would find it a very difficult matter to extricate themselves.

Rio Salado enters Chaco under the name of *River of paſſage*; and is, on its entrance, ſo rapid, as to render the navigation of it very dangerous. On its arrival at the place, where the town of Eſteco formerly ſtood, it changes its firſt name into that of *Rio de Valbuena*; and from its ſource to this place, which is about forty leagues, its waters are tinged of a blood colour, which diſappears by degrees, as it receives the waters of other rivers. This colour is attributed to the ſoil of the valley of Calchaqui, into which this river flows from its ſpring. It is not called ſalt river, till its arrival in the latitude of Santiago: but authors aſſign no reaſons for giving it this name. In fine, it takes a turn to the Eaſt, before it falls into Rio de la Plata; and joining a little river, called *Saladillo*, forms an iſland pretty much in the ſhape of a bow, of which Rio de la Plata is the ſtring. This bow is called Rio de *Coronda*.

Rio Vermejo croſſes Chaco from North-Eaſt to South-Weſt; and, as well as Rio Salado, very often changes its name. I have not been able to diſcover why it is called Rio Vermejo; a name, to which Rio Solado ſeems to have a better title. Rio Vermejo falls into Rio de la Plata under the name of *Rio Grande*. Its ſtream is ſo gentle, that one may, in a manner, as eaſily aſcend, as deſcend, it; eſpecially with the ſmall ſouthern breezes, which begin to blow here every morning at nine o'clock, and refreſh the air greatly. Its waters, beſides being full of fiſh, are deemed very ſalutary. They are ſovereign, it is aſſured, againſt the gravel, the ſtone, all urinary complaints, the cholic, the gout, the dropſy, and indigeſtions. Moſt of theſe virtues are ſaid to be owing to an herb, very common on its banks, called by the Spaniards *Yerva de Urina*. It is, moreover, affirmed, that thoſe, who make their conſtant drink of

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them, live to extreme old age, without ſickneſs or wrinkles.

We muſt, probably, make ſome allowance for theſe commendations; but it is a conſtant tradition among the Spaniards, that, of all the ſoldiers who were employed under Don Martin Ledeſma Valderanna, governor of Tucuman, from 1628 to 1635, in building the town of *Santiago de Guadalcazar*, not one died, or was even indiſpoſed; though the turning up of the earth was alone ſufficient to cauſe a ſickneſs among them. It is, beſides, ſaid, that Don Eſtevan de Urizar, who, in 1710 and 1711, entered Chaco with ſome troops, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, and there, for a long time, marched along the banks of the red river, which at that ſide of the country is called *Rio Grande*, had no ſooner made uſe of its waters, though he arrived there in a very bad ſtate of health, than he got the better of all his complaints; and felt no return of them during the two campaigns he made there, though he never ſpared himſelf in the leaſt. It is in a lake formed by this river, under the name of *Rio Grande*, that the pearls were found, which I mentioned in the firſt book of this hiſtory.

Most of the other rivers of Chaco are, likewiſe, remarkable on one account or another. There is one, for inſtance, whoſe waters are green; and it is, accordingly, called *Rio Verde*. It is impoſſible to tell whence they derive this colour, which does not hinder them from being very wholſome and even palatable. This river falls into the Paraguay, about ſixty leagues above the Aſſumption. The Spaniards had built on its banks a town, called *Nueva Rioja*; but it ſubſiſted a very ſhort time. Another river of Chaco, called *Guayru*, which deſcends from the Chiriguan Cordilliere, and has its courſe between the Pilco Mayo and Rio Vermejo, though I cannot find it in the maps, has its waters very ſalt. Some of the Chaco rivers loſe themſelves

in the bosom of the earth, like those of Tucuman, which I have already mentioned.

There issues so great a number of them from the Cordilliere, that, on the thawing of the snow with which these mountains are covered, and the falling of the heavy rains, both which happen at one season, they overflow to such a degree, as to make part of Chaco look like a vast sea, which is succeeded by a great number of lakes, that never dry up, and are well stocked with fish. These inundations are so considerable, especially near the mouths of the rivers which fall into the Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, and often so sudden, that the inhabitants are obliged to take to their pirogues, or climb up trees, and remain there till the waters fall, or they can find some other method of providing for their safety.

But these inconveniencies are sufficiently compensated by the advantages flowing from the same source; for the waters are scarce retired, when the plains they covered appear like so many grand parterres, which, viewed from the neighbouring mountains, form a prospect, that nothing, perhaps, in nature can compare with. What would it be then, if this fine country was inhabited by industrious people, well skilled in the methods of correcting the disadvantages it labours under, and making the most of the advantages providence has bestowed upon it? The present inhabitants of Chaco think they have done enough, when, after the inundations we have been speaking of, they stir the earth a little. No doubt, even without this slight labour, it furnishes them with resources for their subsistence. The best fruits grow here in abundance; and fishing and hunting would, alone, be sufficient to support great numbers.

Part of this province is overgrown with vast forests, in some of which there is no water to be found,

found, but in the hollows of the trees, which form, as it were, ſo many reſervoirs of a very tranſparent and potable water. Naturally, the heats here ſhould be exceſſively intenſe; eſpecially as the air is, in itſelf, both warm and dry; but a ſouth wind, which blows regularly every day, tempers them greatly. In the ſouthern diſtrict, the weather is ſometimes very cold and nipping. Trees of the ſame kind with thoſe of Europe are pretty ſcarce here; but there are others no way inferior to the beſt we can boaſt of.

On the banks of a little river, called *Sinta*, there are cedars ſurpaſſing, in height, the talleſt we know of; and, near the ancient city of Gualdalcazar, which ſubſiſted but a ſhort time, there are whole foreſts of them, whoſe trunks meaſure above three fathoms, in circumference. The *Quinaquina* is very common here. It is a large tree, whoſe wood is red, ſweet-ſcented, and yields an odoriferous roſin. The fruit is a bean, larger than thoſe of other trees of the ſame ſpecies, very hard, and medicinal. There are whole foreſts of palm-trees, from eight to twelve leagues in extent. Thoſe, which grow on the Pilco Mayo, are as tall as the talleſt cedars. The pith or heart of this tree, dreſſed with marrow, eats very well. The *Rival* is a tree armed all over with pretty large and very hard thorns. The leaves of it chewed are deemed ſovereign in all complaints of the eyes. Its fruit is ſweet and agreeable. There are two ſpecies of *Gayoc*. The moſt eſteemed is that called by the Spaniards *Palo Santo*.

The number of ſimples found in Chaco is, in a manner, infinite; and father Locano ſcruples not to affirm, that ſpecifics have been diſcovered among them for every diſorder. Perhaps, we might, without any exaggeration, ſay the ſame thing of all the inhabited and habitable countries of the globe; for,

for, surely, there can be no difficulty in believing, that the author of nature has granted every climate the simple and natural remedies, which it stands in need of. Don't we every where see animals, conducted by mere instinct, have recourse to them, in their wants, and use them with more success, than man himself? And it is the same thing with the Indians; as if this instinct, by which brutes are so well governed in all parts of the world, came to the assistance of men destitute of the resources of art; or, as if necessity rendered them more attentive to study nature, upon which art should ground all its rules and principles. In short, they make in Chaco, not only bread, but very good liquors, with several kinds of grain and other vegetable productions. But the Indians often abuse this blessing, by making their liquors too strong, and using it too freely, so as to fall into all the excesses, with which drunkenness is generally attended.

The fur of the lions of this country is red and very long. These animals are so very gentle, or rather cowardly, that they fly at the barking of a dog, and suffer themselves to be taken, when they have not time to get into a tree. As to the tygers, besides the advantage of making the water as well as the earth contribute to their subsistence, they are as large, and at least as fierce, as those of Tucuman, but they lose all their strength on being wounded in the region of the loins. There are, in this province, six kinds of geese; all manner of tame fowl fit for the table; black and red goats as in Tucuman, and some white goats on the banks of the Pilco-Mayo; boars of two colours, grey and black, besides hares, deer, ostriches, and water-wolves, the same as in the adjacent provinces.

What the Spaniards call the great beast, is the *Anta* or *Danta*, of which I have already said something;

thing; for, by father Locano's account of it, that of Chaco differs a little from that of which I have already given a description, from father Montoya. This animal, father Locano tells us, has the head of a horse; the ears of a mule; and on his snout, a trump, which he stretches out when threatened; the lips of a calf; sharp teeth; a short tail; and slender feet; the fore ones cloven in two, the hinder ones in three; two stomachs, one of which serves him for a store-house, where are sometimes found pieces of rotten wood; and Bezoar stones, deemed the best of any that come from America. His skin, which is covered with long brown hair, when hardened in the sun, and then dressed into buff, is impenetrable, even by musket-balls. As to his flesh, it differs in nothing from beef. The hoof of the left fore foot has the same virtue with that attributed to the elke or original of Canada; and, accordingly, he makes the same use of it in the fits of the epilepsy, or some other such disorder, to which he is subject. We are assured, in fine, that when he finds himself overstocked with blood, he opens one of his veins with the point of a reed; and that it is from him the Indians have learned the use of the same operation.

The *Guanaco*, or *Huanaco*, known in England, whither two of them were brought from Buenos Ayres in the year 1723, by the name of *Wanotra*, which, it is probable, some other people of America give it, is common in Chaco, and yields Bezoar stones, that weigh three pounds and a half. The Indian, who first made the Spaniards acquainted with this animal, was for his pains, it is said, put to death by his countrymen. This animal is a kind of diminutive camel; he has nothing amiss about him but his saliva, which gives the itch, and which he casts upon his pursuers. The Guanacoes are never seen, but in flocks, unless, perhaps, in de-

sart

ſart places. When they graze thus together, one of them always ſtands ſentry upon an eminence, to alarm the reſt, by a kind of neighing, of the approach of the hunters; when they all fly to places ſurrounded by precipices; the females with their young ones marching before them. The fleſh of the Guanaco is white; and though a little dry, tolerably well taſted.

The other animals found in Chaco are the *Zorillo*, which does not appear to differ from the ſtinking beaſt of Canada; the *Capivara*, an amphibious creature ſhaped like a hog, the Indians are very fond of its fleſh, as well as that of the *Otter*; which is very common in this country, and has a very fine fur; the *Iguana*, which reſembles greatly that of Hiſpaniola; the *Quinquinchon*, which is ſhaped like a hog, and with his paws and his ſnout digs himſelf a hole in the earth of between three and four feet diameter, in which he hides himſelf. On this back, he carries a very hard ſhell by way of houſe, into which he occaſionally folds himſelf; and his belly is armed with ſcales, from which there grows very long and very thick hair. It is ſaid, that the Quinquinchon ſometimes lies down upon his back to receive the rain water, and remains in this poſture a whole day, till ſome thirſty deer comes to drink out of his ſhell; when he immediately ſeizes her by the lips, and ſo keeps her in ſpite of all her endeavours till ſhe is ſtifled; when he feeds upon her. Some Engliſhmen preſented his Britannic majeſty with two of theſe animals, alive, in the year 1728. The fleſh of the Quinquinchon has a pretty diſagreeable ſcent.

There is another ſpecies of this animal, called in Paraguay *Tatou*, and in Tucuman *Mulica*, or *Bulica*, which is, they tell us, when folded up within his ſhell, as round as a ball, with all the

ſcales

ſcales ſo curiouſly united, that not a ſingle ſeam can be diſcerned between them. The Tatou has no hair. His fleſh differs in nothing from that of a ſucking pig. There are, likewiſe, ſome of theſe creatures in Brazil, and the iſland of Granada. In fine, there is, in the vallies leading to Chaco, a ſpecies of ſheep, called *Llamaez*, which one would take for little camels, had they any lump on their backs. The Indians make uſe of them to carry burthens, though their march is ſo ſlow, that it is impoſſible to make them travel more than three leagues a day; and, if once they lie down with wearineſs, they permit themſelves to be killed rather than get up again with their burthen.

Some authors have affirmed, that Chaco, does not produce any venemous animals. Yet it is certain, that ſeveral have been found there; but then antidotes are ſtill more common. The moſt ſovereign are viper's herb; and the contrayerva, both male and female. Father Locano imagines, that the viper's herb is the *Triſſago* of Dioſcorides. The other antidotes are the *Colmillo de Vibora*, or the *Solimon dela Tioſſa*; tobacco leaves; the ſtalk and ear of Maiz; the ſhank bone of a cow, broiled and applied to the wound, from which it falls of itſelf, when it has imbibed all the venom. The efficacy of this bone is greatly encreaſed by bathing it in milk and wine.

It would be very ſurprizing, if, in ſo fine a country, there were no bees. The foreſts are all ſo full of them, that, in ſeveral, there is ſcarce a ſingle tree without a colony of theſe precious inſects; ſo that, though the waſps carry on a conſtant and cruel war againſt them, this province alone could ſupply great part of America with wax and honey, of a ſuperior kind to thoſe of any other country we know of. Authors ſay nothing of the birds of Chaco, which, probably,

are the ſame with thoſe in the adjacent provinces. The ſilence of hiſtorians, in regard to their notes, leaves room to believe, that here, as well as in every other part of the new world, this tribe of the animal creation does not charm the ears with its muſic, as much as it does the eyes by the vivacity and variety of its plumage.

To judge by the number of the nations in Chaco, of which Father Locano gives us a liſt, one would be apt to conclude, that there is not a better inhabited country in the whole world. It is, indeed, more ſo, than any of thoſe which ſurround it, though very far from being as much ſo, as it ought to be, conſidering the fertility of its ſoil and the mildneſs of its climate; for, taking the nations inhabiting it one with another, there is not one of them numerous enough to form above three or four middling towns. This, after all, is not ſo ſurprizing, as, at firſt ſight, it may appear to be. Experience ſufficiently demonſtrates, that the countries moſt favoured by nature are not always thoſe, in which the human ſpecies multiplies faſteſt. The reaſon of this ſingularity is, no doubt, that the facility of living, in ſuch countries, with very little or no labour, renders men more idle and improvident; and more lawleſs; and, of courſe, more vicious, than they otherwiſe would be; whence it happens, that impatient of reſtraint, and giving way to their paſſions in every thing, they become wild and barbarous; keep up no ſociety with each other; and fall into greater exceſſes, of drunkenneſs eſpecially, from whence proceed quarrels and wars, by which more men periſh, than can poſſibly be born. And, accordingly, ſuch nations dwindle away in the moſt ſenſible manner.

Besides, a tradition of no very ancient date in this part of South America informs us, that the

epidemical

epidemical distempers occasioned by the corruption of the air in the neighbouring countries, in Tucuman especially, having driven, from time to time, abundance of their inhabitants into this province, they brought with them contagions, with which the country might otherwise, never have been visited. For as to the Peruvians, whom the tyranny of their Spanish masters drove into Chaco, in greater numbers than into any other of the neighbouring countries; the transmigration of them could not but be attended with the loss of a multitude of people. Besides, the wandering life, which these fugitives must have led for a long time before they settled, was by no means favourable to their multiplication.

NOTHING proves better the strange medley of nations in Chaco, than the difference in their manners and customs. It is true they resemble each other in a great many things, but this resemblance is the necessary consequence of such connections, as they cannot avoid having with each other; especially in defence of their liberty against the Spaniards, who surrounded them on all sides, and whom the beauty of this country, and the desire of freeing themselves from such troublesome neighbours, have engaged in the greatest and most constant efforts to subdue them. Though I did not purpose to enter into a minute detail of what particularly distinguishes them from one another, but as occasion offered, I cannot prevail on myself to go any further, without relating what father Locano tells of two of these nations; it being so singular, that I should not dare to mention it on any other testimony but that of this missionary, who, though he owns he had never seen them himself, adds, that he has all the proofs that can be reasonably expected of their existence.

The firſt of theſe nations is the *Collus* or *Colluges* and in the Quitchoane language, *Suripchaquins*, which ſignifies, oſtrich-feet. They have been called thus, becauſe their legs have no calf, and their feet, all to the heels, reſemble thoſe of the oſtrich. They are of an almoſt gigantic ſtature; ſo ſwift footed, that no horſe can keep up with them; and ſo very warlike, that, without any arms but lances, they have almoſt extirpated a nation called the *Polomas*, that was formerly very numerous. The ſecond of theſe nations have nothing monſtrous but their ſtatue, which is ſtill higher than that of the Colluges. What father Locano ſays of them is extracted from two letters of father Gaſpard Oſorio, who preached the goſpel to theſe Indians, and whoſe glorious martyrdom we ſhall relate hereafter; one to Father Francis Truxillo, his provincial; the other to father Mutio Vetelleſchi, his general.

Father Oſorio does not name them, but juſt ſays, that he met them on the little river of Tarija, pretty near the ſpot, where ſtood the town of Guadalcazar, which I have already mentioned. After ſaying, that, with his hand raiſed to its utmoſt ſtretch, he could not reach the heads of theſe Indians; he adds, that what ſurprized him ſtill more was the delicacy and luxuriancy of their language, the nobleneſs of their ſentiments, the politeneſs of their manners, the ſprightlineſs of their genius, the penetration of their underſtanding, the modeſty of their behaviour, the prudence of their conduct, and their great bravery.

In general, the inhabitants of Chaco are all of an advantageous ſtature; and there have been found men among them above ſeven feet high. Their features differ greatly from ours; and the colours, with which they paint themſelves, give them

them an aſpect, with which ſtrangers cannot, at firſt ſight, help being terrified a little. And, accordingly, they pretend by this means to ſtrike a terror into their enemies. A Spaniſh captain, who had ſerved with reputation in Europe, having been commanded againſt ſome Indians of Chaco, that lived pretty near Santafe, was ſo thunder-ſtruck with their appearance, that he fainted away. Moſt of the men go quite naked, all to a parcel of feathers, of different colours, hanging to a ſtring about their waſte. But, at their public ſolemnities, they wear caps made of the ſame feathers. In very cold weather, they wrap themſelves up in a kind of cap and cloak made of ſkins pretty well dreſſed, and adorned with painted figures. Among ſome nations, the women are not better covered than the men.

The bad qualities common to all theſe people are ferocity, inconſtancy, perfidy, and drunkenneſs. They are all ſprightly, though very dull of apprehenſion in every thing that does not fall immediately under the ſenſes. There is, properly ſpeaking, no form of government among them; every town, indeed, has its Cacique; but theſe chiefs have no authority, but in proportion to the eſteem they have acquired. Several do nothing but rove from place to place with their furniture, which conſiſts of nothing but a mat, a hammock, and a calebaſh. The cabins of thoſe, who live in towns, are, among ſeveral nations, no better than wretched hovels made with branches of trees, and covered with ſtraw or rather graſs. Thoſe who live neareſt to Tucuman are, it ſeems, better lodged and better cloathed.

Their favourite liquor, is the *Chica*, of which I have already made mention. They aſſemble to drink it, and to dance and ſing; and in theſe exerciſes they perſiſt, till they are all drunk. They

then quarrel; and from words soon proceed to blows, so that their merry-makings seldom terminate without blood-shed, if not in the death of some of the guests. Several take advantage of the confusion to be revenged of their enemies. These excesses are almost peculiar to the men. The women, generally, withdraw, the moment they perceive the liquor begins to get the better of the men, and carry off with them all the arms they can lay their hands upon. A small matter is sufficient to breed a war between these nations; but their unconquerable inveteracy against the Spaniards easily unites them again, on the first alarm from that quarter.

Almost all these Indians are antropophagous, or men-eaters; have no other occupation but war and pillage, which they exercise with such craft and obstinacy, that they have rendered themselves formidable to their neighbours, particularly the Spaniards, who don't chuse to engage them, even when surprized, with equal arms; their courage, in that case, changing to fury. Nay, many of their women have been known, on such occasions, to sell their lives at a very dear rate, rather than surrender to the best armed soldiers. When once they have resolved to plunder a country-seat, or village, there is no art they don't practice to lull the inhabitants into a fatal security, or get out of their way when they have struck their blow. They will watch, for whole years, the opportunity of surprizing them without running any risk. For this purpose, they have always spies abroad who never march but by night; when they make nothing of crawling along, if requisite, on their elbows, which, for this reason, are always covered with a callus. Some Spaniards have been weak enough to think, that these spies, by some magic power, assumed the

forms

forms of domeſtic animals, in order to examine what was doing in their houſes.

Their arms are bows and arrows; the mancana; and a kind of a well-wrought lance or javelin, made of a very hard and very heavy wood, pretty thick, fifteen palms long, and terminating in a deer's horn, with a beard to it. This weapon they uſe with great ſtrength and dexterity; and by means of a rope to which it is faſtened, draw in the man it has wounded, unleſs he has reſolution enough to pull it out. They generally ſaw the necks of their priſoners, with the jaw-bone of a fiſh; and then pull off his ſcalp, which they preſerve as a monument of their victory, and diſplay in all their entertainments.

They are ſuch bold and able horſemen, that the Spaniards will repent, but once, their having ſo well ſtocked with horſes all theſe parts of the continent. Swift as theſe animals are, the Indians of Chaco ſtop them in full ſpeed; and vault upon them, no matter whether ſideways or from behind, without any aſſiſtance but that of their javelins, upon which they ſpring. They then, without ſtirrups or bridles, without any thing, in ſhort, but a halter, not only keep their ſeat, but turn the proud animal which way they pleaſe, and make him fly at ſuch a rate, as to leave behind them the beſt mounted Spaniards. As moſt of them go always naked, their ſkin is very hard. Father Locano aſſures us, he has ſeen the head of a Mocovi, the ſkin of which was half an inch thick.

The women of Chaco prick their faces, breaſts and arms, like the Mooriſh women of Africa and Spain; they are very robuſt; bring forth with great eaſe; and, as ſoon as delivered, bathe themſelves and their children in the next lake or river. They are treated by their huſbands with great ſe-

verity, becauſe, perhaps, they are very much addicted to jealouſy, and have no manner of tenderneſs for their children. They bury their dead on the very ſpot where they expire; and plant a javelin over the grave, faſtening to it the ſkull of an enemy, eſpecially of a Spaniard, if they can get one. They then remove from the place; and even avoid paſſing by it, till the deceaſed is totally forgotten.

The greateſt obſtacles the Spaniards have met with in reducing the Indians of Chaco, and the miſſionaries in converting them, have been thrown in their way, by the *Chiriguones*, a nation ſcattered over ſeveral diſtricts of the provinces of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, las Charcas, and Chaco; and the moſt inveterate enemies of the Spaniards in this part of the world. For, though they have lately had allies among them, who proved very ſerviceable, they can never depend upon their aſſiſtance, but in proportion to their ability to command it; and this is no eaſy taſk. There is not, in all the ſouthern parts of America, a prouder, more treacherous, inconſtant, flinty-hearted nation, than the Chiriguones; which, joined to their well-founded apprehenſions of becoming ſlaves to the Spaniards by ſubmitting to the goſpel, would be ſufficient to make the miſſionaries loſe all hopes of ever reclaiming them, if they could think it lawful ever to deſpair of God's mercy.

By following the courſe of the red river, and turning towards the eaſt, we meet with ſeveral nations, who are tolerably peaceable, and attack nobody, though they all immediately unite for their common defence, as ſoon as any one of them is attacked. According to ſome, theſe nations received baptiſm ſoon after the arrival of the firſt Spaniards in this country; and then, on being perſecuted by them, removed to a greater diſtance.

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They till the ground, and rear cattle; and there even prevail among them some of the practices of christianity, especially that of prayer, for which their Caciques assemble them from time to time. In 1710, Don Estevan de Urizar concluded a treaty with them; and they preserve the original draft of it to this day, as the palladium of their liberty against the Spaniards. One of the conditions of this treaty was, that missionaries should be sent to them; but it has not been as yet possible to comply with it.

Don Andreas Hurtado de Mendoza, marquis of Cannette, and viceroy of Peru, was the first to attempt the reduction of Chaco. In 1556, he sent there, for this purpose, captain Andreas Manso, whom, I have already mentioned, and who had served with honour in the Peruvian wars. This officer advanced, without meeting any resistance, as far as the extensive plains between the Pilco Mayo and the red river; and had even began to build a town. But, one night, when, being no longer under any apprehensions from the natives, he and his men were buried in sleep without any centinels to guard the avenues to their camp, a party of the Chiriguones rushed into it, and murdered every soul of them. These plains have ever since been called the plains of Manso.

The town of Santafe, the foundation of which I have already related, was originally considered as a town of Chaco, because it stood on the west banks of Rio de la Plata, to which several extend this province; but, having been removed since, it is now at too great a distance from the bounds which father Locano gives Chaco at that side. Another town was built in Chaco, under the name of the *Conception*, on the banks of the red river, or rather a marsh formed by this river, thirty leagues above its fall into Rio de la Plata; but this

this town could ſcarce maintain itſelf in its primitive mediocrity for the ſpace of ſixty years; and even the ruins of it are now no longer diſcernible. There can be no ſtronger proof of the weakneſs of the Spaniards in Paraguay, than their not having been able to keep up this eſtabliſhment, which formed ſo fine a key into the heart of Chaco. In ſhort, it is with difficulty they now point out the ſpot, where ſtood the town of Guadalcazar that I have already mentioned, and which, likewiſe, they have been obliged to abandon.

Father Locano tells us, that, while Don Martin de Ledeſma was building this town, he could never penetrate as far as the *Chicas Orejones*, or the *Churumacas*, who lived to the weſt, in the valleys at the foot of the Cordilliere, though he could plainly diſcover the ſmoke of their villages, which could not, therefore, be more than ten or twelve leagues from his camp; the guide, he had often employed to conduct a ſtrong party there, having, conſtantly led them aſtray; that having, one day, convicted him of his treachery, and bitterly reproached him with it, the fellow anſwered, that it was as much as his life was worth to ſhew the Spaniards the way to theſe villages: "But how comes it, ſaid Don Martin, that theſe people are ſo averſe to our paying them a viſit?" "For fear, anſwered the guide, that, if you once knew the road to them, you ſhould put them all to death as your predeceſſors did the Inca, in order to ſeize on his mines and his empire." The ſpy added, that the Chicas Orejones were thoſe, whom the Incas employed to work their mines, and ſecure the Cordilliere; and that, having heard the tragical end of the laſt Inca, they immediately took refuge among the Churumàcas, who gave them a very favourable reception. Father Locano, likewiſe, informs us, that the ſame Chicas Orejones were deſcended

from

from the noble Orejones of Peru, whom the Incas made uſe of to extend their conqueſts.

But let the Spaniards uſe what endeavours they will to reduce Chaco, they never will be able to effect it, till the inhabitants have ſubmitted to the goſpel; a thing impoſſible, as long as they abuſe a favour granted them by their catholic majeſties; and which it is hardly to be expected they ſhould ever ceaſe to abuſe, ſince all the power of theſe princes has not as yet been able to effect it, though it has occaſioned the death or deſertion of a great many new chriſtians, and formed an invincible obſtacle to the converſion of an infinite number of infidels. It is, therefore, neceſſary I ſhould explain the nature of this favour, before I re-aſſume the thread of my narration.

The Spaniards it ſeems, had parcelled out all the Indians, whom they had reduced by force or by fair means, into *Departments* or *Commandes*. Theſe commandes were granted to private perſons for a certain number of years, more or leſs, according to the rank or ſervices of ſuch perſons. This term expired, they devolved to the crown; and the governor of the province, in virtue of a power received for that purpoſe from the ſovereign, either employed ſuch devolved Indians, when requiſite, in the public works, or made them over to other private perſons, ſo that every adventurer partook in his turn of their ſervice. This ſervice conſiſted in their working for him for nothing, two months in the year, and paying him, out of what they could earn during the other ten months, a tribute of five pieces of eight, from which thoſe under eighteen, and above forty, were exempted. The fifth of this tribute was to be paid the pariſh-prieſt for his ſalary. In return for this ſervice, thoſe who enjoyed it, called, in the Spaniſh, *Encomenderos*, were to provide their Indians with every

every thing they wanted; to see that they were instructed in the principles and practice of the christian religion; to use them well and treat them like children; for, in many respects, these Indians continue children during their whole lives.

But, as Charles V. foresaw that these regulations, alone, would never be sufficient to protect the Indians against the exactions of their encomenderos, he ordered that officers should be named to receive their complaints, and do them justice; with power to deprive of their departments those, who should be convicted of having made an ill use of them. But the wisest precautions, and the severest laws, are a very weak barrier against avarice; especially where the absence of the sovereign, and the facility of gaining over those he has charged with the execution of his orders, afford any hopes of impunity; a truth rendered but too evident by the fate of these commandes; for no laws could be more wisely devised or worse executed, than those made to regulate them.

Yet, all might have found their advantage in complying with these laws. The Indians might have been civilized, and contracted an affection to masters who treated them as children; the king might have gained loyal subjects; and the encomenderos useful servants; as will hereafter appear evident beyond the power of contradiction. The church, too, might have acquired docile children. I may even affirm, without indulging conjecture too much, that all the inhabitants of this part of America would be at this day christians, if those in place had concurred with the missionaries, in endeavouring to make them relish the maxims of the gospel. Whereas, considering the manner in which they were treated, it is no way surprizing, that the greatest number of those who embraced the christian religion should have afterwards

wards renounced it, as their encomenderos or their ſubſtitutes ſcarce ever gave them time to learn, or opportunity to obſerve, its precepts; and were ſtill more backward in giving them that good example, and treating them with that lenity, which was neceſſary to confirm what the miſſionaries ſaid to them of the mildneſs and holineſs of the goſpel. It is, therefore, no way ſtrange, that as many of them, as poſſibly could, have ſhaken off the yoke, and are ſince become the moſt dangerous enemies of their wicked and fooliſh taſk-maſters.

It is, likewiſe, certain, that in conſequence of the ſervices exacted from theſe ſlaves, for they are very ſeldom treated otherwiſe, their maſters have contracted ſuch a habit of lazineſs, that, as often as theſe poor creatures ſink under the weight of fatigue and ill uſage, or deſert to avoid it, they fall into a ſtate of indigence, which they know not either to bear or to mend. The daily examples of this misfortune are ſo far from making any impreſſion upon the Spaniards, that the abuſe of the departments has been conſtantly on the encreaſe, and is at laſt become ſo obſtinate, that the moſt preciſe and reiterated orders of the kings of Spain have not been able to put a ſtop to it. Nay, diſobedience to the orders of the ſovereign has been conſtrued into a preſcription; and it will plainly appear in the courſe of this hiſtory, that all the perſecutions excited againſt the Jeſuits of Paraguay; all the calumnies propagated againſt them; and all the prejudices theſe calumnies have left behind them in the minds of ſo many perſons; are entirely owing to the unſhaken reſolution of theſe fathers, in oppoſing every attempt to rob the Indians under their care, of the total exemption granted them by the kings of Spain, from all manner of perſonal ſervice to the Spaniards.

BOOK IV.

Port of Buenos Ayres re-eſtabliſhed. Deſcription of it, and the neighbourhood. State of chriſtianity in Paraguay. Jeſuits enter it. Their labours to reclaim the Spaniards, and civilize and convert the Indians. Deſcription of the province of Guayra. The Jeſuits preach the goſpel there with great ſucceſs. Towns built. Jeſuits gain eſtabliſhments in ſeveral places; incur the diſpleaſure of the Spaniards, by endeavouring to protect the Indians againſt them in the enjoyment of their liberty.

1580-81. THE frequent loſs of ſhips coming from Spain, for want of a ſure port to receive them at the mouth of the Rio de la Plata, having, at laſt, made the Spaniards thoroughly ſenſible of the neceſſity of having one; and there being no room left for choice; a reſolution was taken to re-eſtabliſh that of Buenos Ayres on the ſame ſpot, where Mendoza had, at firſt, placed it; but under the name of *the Trinity*, inſtead of its original one of *our lady of Buenos Ayres*; and omit nothing to ſecure it againſt any future attacks of the Indians in its neighbourhood. This was become the eaſier on account of the new eſtabliſhments formed in the Provinces of Rio de la Plata, and Tucuman, capable of furniſhing ſuccours to awe theſe barbarians. However, the Spaniards no ſooner

ſooner ſet about the work, than the Indians prepared to attack them; but the adelantade, who had brought along with him ſome troops, and a great quantity of military ſtores, ſent againſt them Juan de Garay, who, after chaſtiſing them ſeverely in ſeveral rencounters, obliged them to remain quiet. The city was rebuilt on the ſame ſpot where Don Pedro de Mendoza, at firſt, placed it; but its firſt name, of *our lady*, was changed into that of *the trinity of Buenos Ayres*.

This city remained, for a long time, in a ſtate of poverty anſwerable to that of the province, of which it was both the key and the centre of commerce. I have already obſerved, that it is ſituated on the weſtern banks of Rio de la Plata, about two hundred miles from cape St. Mary, on a ſomewhat elevated point of land that runs into the river in a North direction; and in thirty-five degrees thirty minutes South latitude, according to the lateſt obſervations. The city is ſeparated by a rivulet from the fortreſs, where the governor reſides. It is pretty large; and, for a long time, conſiſted of different quarters, with fields and orchards between them, though the houſes, which for the moſt part were built of earth, conſiſted of but one ſtory diſpoſed round an oblong court; and, conſequently, took up the more room. Many of them received no day-light, but by their doors. The reſt had but one window. But a lay-brother Jeſuit, called to this place about forty or fifty years ago to build the church of the college, having made bricks, and tiles, and lime, inſtructed the inhabitants in theſe uſeful arts, ſo that all the houſes built ſince that time are of ſtone or brick; and ſome of them two ſtories high.

Two other lay-brother jeſuits, one a good architect, and the other a good maſon, and both from Italy, after finiſhing the college church, built that of the

the fathers of Mercy, and the franciſcans, and the front of the cathedral; all which, it is pretended, might make a figure in the beſt cities of Spain. The magiſtrates had, likewiſe, engaged them to build a town-houſe; but, having ſet out on two magnificent a plan for their funds, they found themſelves unable to accompliſh it. The city, however, ſoon began to wear another aſpect, in conſequence of theſe and other improvements; ſo that it is no wonder, if the travellers, who have viſited it ſince the period we are ſpeaking of, give us a much more favourable idea of it, than thoſe who paſſed this way before them.

At this period, the inhabitants were computed at ſixteen thouſand ſouls; one-fourth whites; and the reſt negroes, Indians, and a mixt breed. It is by the labour of theſe negroes, who are by far the greateſt number, that the Spaniards live; for the Spaniards here think it beneath them to exerciſe any manual employment. Thoſe even, who are but juſt landed from Spain, put every ſtitch they have brought with them upon their backs; and ſet up for gentlemen, above ſerving in any menial capacity. It is almoſt equally difficult to get any good from the free Indians, who paſs and repaſs through this town, the adjacent villages and country-ſeats; and this their averſion to labour is owing to their having been overburthened with it, when included in the commandes and ſubject to perſonal ſervice. The cathedral is the pariſh-church of the white inhabitants; the reſt have one, at one of the extremities of the city.

Buenos Ayres, in conſequence of its ſituation and its wholeſome air, enjoys every advantage requiſite to make a flouriſhing city; and will, no doubt, flouriſh in proportion as Paraguay, which has no other ſea-port, becomes populous and the inhabitants of it laborious. Winter begins here in the month of June;

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ſpring, in the month of September; ſummer, in December; and autumn, in March; and theſe four ſeaſons ſucceeded each other very regularly. In winter, the rains are heavy, and attended with ſuch terrible thunder and lightening, that there is no ſuch thing as accuſtoming one ſelf to it. The heat of the ſun in ſummer is qualified by gentle breezes, which riſe regularly between eight and nine o'clock in the morning. One-third of the houſes have a proſpect over an extenſive country cloathed with a perpetual verdure; the other two-thirds look over the river, which, to the North, appears like a great ſea, terminated only by the horizon. Fiſh is here in great abundance, eſpecially that which the Spaniards call *Peſche Reyes*, being a kind of Gurnard very common on the coaſts of Chili.

The fertility of the lands in the neighbourhood of Buenos Ayres is equal to the goodneſs of its air, ſo that, in theſe reſpects, nature has done every thing, to render it a moſt delightful place to live in. The country about it, however, has a naked look, the Spaniards having neglected to plant any trees in it. But, except in point of proſpect, this deficiency is little felt; as all the iſlands, with which the river is enameled at this place, are exceedingly well wooded. The only fruit-tree found in them is the peach-tree; which, beſides producing excellent fruit, is ſo common, that they uſe its branches for the moſt common purpoſes. The vine has not as yet anſwered, for want of a method to deſtroy a kind of ants, which fall upon it the minute it begins to ſhoot, and gnaw it to the very root.

But the chief want, which not only Buenos Ayres, but every other part of that vaſt country, generally comprehended under the name of Paraguay, for a long time laboured under, was that of men qualified to maintain the ancient chriſ-

tians in the regular exerciſe of their religion, as well as to draw the infidels over to it. We have ſeen, that the Emperor Charles V. had recommended nothing more earneſtly to the governors he ſent here, than that they ſhould take with them ſome prieſts both ſecular and regular; and ſupply them with every thing that could facilitate the execution of their office. Philip II. his ſon and ſucceſſor to the throne of Spain, took the ſame precautions; and the miſſionaries, the firſt of whom were of the order of St. Francis, omitted nothing to ſhew themſelves worthy of the confidence placed in them by theſe two great princes. But, though they baptiſed a great number of Indians, the frequent revolts of theſe people, whom the Spaniards did not always treat with ſufficient mildneſs, and the troubles, which almoſt conſtantly prevailed among the Spaniards themſelves, for the firſt ſixty years after their arrival, proved a great obſtacle to the propagation of the goſpel.

Tucuman was, at firſt, much happier in this reſpect; for the Spaniards had ſcarce begun to ſettle in it, when Saint Francis Solano, and a great many other miſſionaries of his order, entered it on the ſide of Peru; viſited every part of it; and even penetrated very far into Chaco; ſcattering every where the ſeed of the goſpel, with all the ſucceſs which might naturally be expected from men headed by a ſaint, whoſe zeal knew no bounds; and whom God inveſted with the gift of miracles, to ſuch a degree, that the inhabitants conſidered him as ſomething more than a mortal being. But, as he was ſoon called back to Peru by his ſuperiors, his miſſion turned out like one of thoſe tranſitory clouds, which fertilize, for a time, the drieſt fields upon which they fall, and then leave them to relapſe into their former ſterility. Father Lewis de Bolanos, one of Saint Francis Solano's diſciples,

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and who, likewiſe, died in the odour of ſanctity, founded among the Guaranis of Paraguay, a fervent colony of chriſtians, which he governed for a long time. He even tranſlated into their language a catechiſm, which I ſhall hereafter have ſome occaſion, to mention; but, his ſuperiors having at laſt thought proper to recal him on account of his great ages and infirmities, the little flock he had brought together, and with whom, it is probable, he could leave no paſtor of his own order, fell afterwards into the hands of the Jeſuits; and, has ſince proved the germ, as it were, of theſe flouriſhing churches of the Parana and the Uruguay, whoſe happy progreſs we ſhall ſoon have occaſion to conſider. The good old man having heard of this happy event, a little before his death, it made him forget the great affliction he had long laboured under at the thoughts of having been obliged to abandon his dear children, whom he had engendered in Jeſus Chriſt.

Thus, therefore, the chriſtian religion was the thing in theſe provinces, which ſtood moſt in need of powerful aſſiſtance. The ſecular clergy were too few for the Spaniards alone, with whom they were entirely taken up. The regulars, fewer in themſelves, were ſtill more ſo, in proportion to the ſubjected Indians committed to their care, whom, beſides, the bad example and cruelty of their encommenderoes made it almoſt impoſſible to inſpire with any reliſh for the great truths of the goſpel. In ſhort, the biſhops of Paraguay and Tucuman were often reduced to the melancholy neceſſity of applying, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the kings of Spain, and their council of the Indies, for ſpiritual labourers to aſſiſt them in the diſcharge of their duty.

Tucuman, eſpecially, ſtood in the greateſt need of ſuch ſuccours. Many towns in it had not ſo

much as a single clergyman. The children grew up without any instruction, and very often the sick left the world without any spiritual assistance. Don Francis Victoria, of the order of Saint Dominic, bishop of this diocese, which he governed for twelve years, did not find, on his arrival in it, a single secular priest, and scarce any regulars, who could make the Indians understand them; so that he found himself, to his infinite sorrow, obliged to lay aside all thoughts of converting them. The Jesuits now began to be known in America; they had been, even upwards of thirty years, in Brazil, which father Joseph Anchieta had filled with the odour of his holiness, and the splendor of his miracles. They, had, likewise settled in Peru; and had already made in both these kingdoms an infinite number of conversions; so that every one published, that this new order, whose founder was born at the time Christopher Columbus began to discover the new world, had received from heaven a special mission, and a particular grace, to establish in it the kingdom of Jesus Christ.

THIS consideration having determined the bishop of Tucuman to get, cost what it would, as many Jesuits as possible, into his diocese, he wrote, at the same time, to father Anchieta, and Father John Atiensa, both provincials of their company; the first, in Brazil; and the second, in Peru; conjuring them, by the entrails of Jesus Christ, not to refuse him the assistance he so much wanted. Upon this, father Atiensa, the nearest of the two, and most at hand to give him speedy succours, immediately sent orders to father Francis Angulo, and father Alphonso Barsena, then employed in the province of las Charcas, to repair immediately to Tucuman, with a lay-brother, called John Villegas, who was to serve them in quality of catechist.

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1586. THESE fathers ſet out, the minute they received their provincial's letter; and arrived in 1586 at Salta, where a ſingle prieſt had not been ſeen for four years that this town had been built. They were, therefore, received in it as angels deſcended from heaven. The inhabitants, even the moſt licentious, had not, as yet, ſtifled the remorſe of their conſcience, whoſe cries redoubled at the ſight of theſe apoſtolic men, and grew ſtill higher and higher, when they had heard them ſpeak. They all confeſſed their ſins; and then repaired to the holy myſteries, the privation of which had been the principal cauſe of all their libertiniſm. The fathers had equal reaſon to be ſatisfied with the Indians, whoſe language they pretty well underſtood, ſo that it was with the utmoſt regret they ſaw themſelves obliged to leave a place, where there appeared ſo fine a field to exerciſe their zeal, and ſo great a proſpect of its being attended with laſting ſucceſs. But they were, it ſeems, impatiently expected at Santiago. Having taken their road to it, by Eſteco, fifty leagues at this ſide of it, they there found the ſame call for their aſſiſtance, and the ſame diſpoſitions to benefit by it, as well in the Spaniards as in the Indians, many of whom had been baptized by Saint Francis Solano. However, they remained in Eſteco, but a month, having received a letter from the biſhop, which obliged them to ſet out directly for Santiago.

DON JUAN RAMIREZ DE VELASCO, governor of Tucuman, was no leſs impatient to ſee them than Don Francis Victoria. As ſoon, therefore, as he had notice of their approach, he went out, on horſeback, with the nobility and officers of the garriſon, to meet them. The inhabitants ſtrewed with flowers, and adorned with triumphal arches, the ſtreets through which they were to paſs. The biſhop, who had ordered a ſolemn thankſgiving for their

happy arrival, embraced them tenderly, with tears in his eyes; and, ſeeing them fall proſtrate at his feet, to implore his bleſſing, took them up; conducted them, in proceſſion, to the cathedral; complimented them there in terms, which greatly ſhocked their modeſty; gave out the *Te deum*, which was ſung by his clergy; and, afterwards, led them to his own houſe, where he inſiſted upon lodging them. If apoſtolic men ſometimes find themſelves in circumſtances, in which the great maſter who ſends them thinks proper they ſhould be received like his miniſters; he oftener gives them occaſion to conſider themſelves as his diſciples; ſo as to make them remember all the ignominies of his paſſion, which ſo ſoon ſucceeded his triumphant entry into Jeruſalem. This the Jeſuits who firſt entered Paraguay, and their ſucceſſors, have never loſt ſight of; and they have found their advantage in it.

Santiago, at this time, contained five hundred families; and the country about it, which is very delightful, beſides being well peopled with Indians, was every day filling with new Spaniſh ſettlements. Yet, the biſhop had but five ſecular, and a few regular, prieſts, that he could depend upon; ſo that he ſaw himſelf conſtantly obliged to go through the moſt laborious part of the church duty, though he often ſunk under the burden of it. Here, therefore, the new miſſionaries found ample matter to employ their zeal. Though they could not but conſider themſelves as more particularly ſent to the Indians, they thought it their duty to do ſomething, firſt, for the Spaniards; as, beſides their being domeſtics of the faith, example could not but greatly haſten or retard the progreſs of their operations among the Neophytes and the Infidels. They divided their whole time between preaching, hearing confeſſions; viſiting the ſick; and private conferences; borrowing from their ſleep what was

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requiſite for the ſaying of their breviary and other exerciſes of devotion. The Spaniards liſtened to them with ſuch reſpect; and applied to them with ſuch confidence; that the place ſoon wore a different aſpect; the ſtreets and houſes reſounding both day and night, with ſpiritual canticles. The biſhop contributed ſo zealouſly to the ſucceſs of their labours, not only by precept but example, that the joy with which his heart overflowed could, alone, ſupport him under ſo many fatigues.

The Indians had next their turn. Father Angulo was perfect maſter of the Quitchoane language, current among them; and Father Barſena had learned that, which was peculiar to them; ſo that both were in a condition to be underſtood by them all. The reſpect and confidence, of which the Spaniards gave them the ſincereſt demonſtrations, inſpired the natives with ſuch an opinion of them, that they flocked about them in crowds, whoſe holy importunities the miſſionaries themſelves were ſurprized at their being able to anſwer. After ſome time ſpent in this manner, father Angulo thought proper, that Father Barſena ſhould return to Eſteco, with a ſecular prieſt named to the pariſh of that place, in order to aſſiſt him; and, likewiſe, begin a miſſion among the Indians of its diſtrict, who lived in fifty hamlets, at a conſiderable diſtance one from the other, and ſeparated by mountains and marſhes, which rendered the communication between them very diſagreeable and difficult.

An apoſtate and vagabond monk had appeared, ſome time before, among theſe Indians; and, though he did not know a ſingle word of their language, had baptized a great number of them, who thus became chriſtians, without knowing what chriſtianity was; and profaned the holineſs of the character they had received, by continuing to practice their antient ſuperſtitions, and follow the bent of their

brutal appetites. These the missionary thought best entitled to his first labours; and, in the space of nine months that he spent in visiting their hamlets with brother Villegas, he not only made true christians of them, but added to their number between six and seven thousand well instructed and very fervent Neophytes. He flattered himself with being able to extend his spiritual conquests still further, when the bishop called him back to Santiago, in order to send him, with Father Angulo, to Corduba, where they met with such success amongst the Spaniards of the town, and the Indians of the neighbourhood, as surpassed their own hopes and those of the prelate.

In the mean time, a reinforcement of Jesuits arrived at Corduba from Brazil. It consisted of the Fathers, Leonard Armenio, an Italian; Juan Salonio, of Valencia, in Spain; Thomas Filds, a Scotchman; Stephen de Grao, a Portugueze; and Emmanuel de Ortega, another Portuguese trained up to an apostolic life under the famous Father Anchieta. Father Armenio, the superior of them, on his arrival at Corduba, represented to the missionaries he found there contrary to his expectation, that, as Tucuman could be more easily supplied with missionaries from Peru, than from Brazil, where, besides, there was more work, and Portugal could supply a sufficient number of labourers for; and, as this mixture of Spanish and Portuguese missions would not, perhaps, be approved by the courts of Madrid and Lisbon, though these two kingdoms were united under one sovereign, he was resolved to return to Brazil, but without obliging any body to follow him; and, accordingly, Father de Grao was the only person, who did not chuse to separate from him. Father Ortega remained at Corduba, with Father Barsena; and Father Angulo took Father Salonio and Father Filds with him to Santiago.

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1588. When Don Jerom Lewis de Cabrera founded the city of Corduba, there were no leſs than forty thouſand Indians in the diſtrict he aſſigned it; but this number ſoon began to leſſen. The Spaniards behaved with ſo much barbarity towards theſe unhappy creatures, whom fear alone had brought under ſubjection to them, that many periſhed with grief and fatigue; and many more deſerted. The ſhorteſt way to retain thoſe who remained, and make them wiſh to be inſtructed in the myſteries of the chriſtian religion, was by gentleneſs and by preſents; ſo that the poverty of the two miſſionaries, not permitting them to uſe the latter, they were obliged to employ an extraordinary degree of the former.

Several infidels had been, likewiſe, baptiſed in this country, without any previous inſtruction. The Spaniards would fain appear zealous to propagate the goſpel, while they were really doing all that lay in their power to ſtop its progreſs. The firſt thing, therefore, the miſſionaries did, was to convince the Neophytes of what the maſters ſhould have begun by telling them, that we muſt not judge of the chriſtian religion by the conduct of thoſe who profeſs it; and in this they ſucceeded beyond their expectation, ſo that, in leſs than ſix months, all the neighbourhood of Corduba was peopled with catechumens.

After ſome other excurſions made by the new miſſionaries, which, joined to their former labours, ingratiated them ſo much with Don Francis Victoria, that he appointed Father Barſena his vicar-general, with an unlimited power. The Fathers, Solanio, de Ortega, and Filds, repaired to the Aſſumption, at the requeſt of the biſhop of that place; were received there with the ſame honours that had been paid to Father Barſena and Father Angulo at Santiago, and exerted themſelves equally to the advantage

tage of both Spaniards and natives; ſo that, in the ſpace of three months, neither were to be known for the ſame men. They then turned their views upon the eaſtern Guayra. But, as it was not proper they ſhould all leave the capital together, Father Salanio continued in it, whilſt the two others embarked on the Paraguay for that country.

After ſailing for ſome time on the Paraguay, they landed on the right ſhore, and travelled a foot, one hundred and fifty leagues, before they reached its neareſt towns. This country, probably, derives it name from that of the Guaranis who inhabit it, they being often called Guayranis.

These Indians lived in towns, that were pretty populous, and the Caciques of which by being hereditary, and independent one on the other, had a great deal of authority over their ſubjects. Sometimes, however, as it happens in all nations more addicted to the arts of war than thoſe of peace, private perſons acquired this rank by their valour; and not ſeldom by a ſingle facility in ſpeaking well the language of the country, which, according to Father Montoya, who was perfect maſter of it, yields, in nothing, to any of the fineſt we are acquainted with. The chief prerogatives enjoyed by the Caciques conſiſted in a right to the labour of their ſubjects, for the purpoſes of agriculture; and the uſe of their daughters when they required it.

At the death of a Cacique, it was lawful for one of his brothers to marry the widow; but this ſeldom happened. In general, theſe Indians did not approve ſuch marriages between near relations; and the men among them, who have embraced the chriſtian religion, never marry any of their relations, even within thoſe degrees with which the church readily diſpenſes. But the Caciques could have more wives than one. As to their religion,

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they acknowledge but one God; for if they expressed any veneration for the bones of their jugglers whom they had seen perform such things in their life time, as, in their opinion, surpassed the strength of nature, they by no means considered them as divinities, though the species of worship they paid them, differed but little from that, which other nations pay their idols. They never, however, offered any sacrifices to God, nor could any regular form of worship be discovered among them.

THEY reckoned their years by winters, but seldom went beyond ten without committing a mistake. They judged of its being time to rise when the pleiades began to make their appearance above the horizon. They imagined there was a tiger and a great dog in the heavens, which devoured the moon and the sun, as often as these luminaries happened to be eclipsed; and such events greatly alarmed them. The husbands, on their wives being brought to bed, observed, for the space of fifteen days, a rigorous fast; and neither hunted nor conversed with any one during that time, firmly believing, that the child's life depended on their punctually complying with this custom. They used a kind of baptism; but authors have not given us any satisfactory account of it. But the ceremonies they observed, in giving names to their new-born children, will best serve to give us a just idea of the savageness of this nation. Thinking it unlawful to perform this ceremony, without the death of a prisoner of war, they deferred it till they could make one. After entertaining him plentifully for several days, and even giving him his choice of as many young girls or grown up women as he thought proper, they cut his throat on the day appointed for that purpose, with great ceremony. As soon as he was dead, every one touched his

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body, or ſtruck it with a ſtick; and, during this operation, they gave names to all the children that had not as yet received any. This done, the body was cut up; and every family took home a piece of it to make into broth, of which every one took a mouthful, not excepting children at the breaſt, whom their mothers took care to make partakers of this helliſh repaſt.

Their manner of receiving perſons returned from a long journey, had ſomething very odd in it. The traveller, on entering his cabin, immediately ſeated himſelf, without uttering a ſingle ſyllable; and, the next moment, the women began to walk round and round him, obſerving, all the time, the ſame ſilence, till, at laſt, they ſuddenly burſt out into exclamations, which were followed by a long relation of all the diſagreeable events that had happened in his family, during his abſence; the men covering their faces, repeated the ſame things with a low voice; and this ceremony laſted a longer or ſhorter time in proportion to the eſteem they had for the traveller. At laſt, they all congratulated him on his happy arrival, and entertained him in the beſt manner they were able.

The women, on the death of their huſbands, uſed to throw themſelves from ſome eminence high enough to cripple them for the remainder of their lives. The Indians believed that the ſoul, on its leaving the body, never wandered at any great diſtance from it, but kept it company in the grave, where they, accordingly, left a vacancy for it to reſide in. The firſt who embraced the goſpel could ſcarce be prevailed upon to renounce this practice; and chriſtian women have been pretty often diſcovered going privately to the graves of their children or huſbands, in order to ſift the mould over them, as their ſouls, they ſaid, would be too much burthened without this precaution.

When a girl was old enough to be married, they put her into the hands of a woman, who, for eight days together, employed her in the moſt laborious taſks; fed her very ill; and withal, never gave her a moment's reſt. By her manner of bearing this tryal, they judged if ſhe was laborious, and otherwiſe qualified to undertake the care of a family. At the expiration of this term, they cut off her hair; decked her out with all the ornaments the ſex is ſo fond of; and declared her marriageable. It would have been criminal in a young woman to keep company with a man before ſhe had paſſed through this tryal; or, at leaſt, ſhe muſt have done it very privately to eſcape puniſhment.

The Guaranis placed great faith in certain men, who, at once, acted the part of fortune-tellers and phyſicians, pretended to draw certain informations of what was to happen from the ſinging of birds, and to have received from heaven the power of curing all manner of diſeaſes. Their whole quackery, however, conſiſted in ſucking the part afflicted, and then pretending to extract from it ſomething, which they had the precaution of taking into their mouths before they went to work; but produced, with the greateſt aſſurance, as the cauſe of all the patient's illneſs, whoſe imagination they greatly calmed by this ſtratagem. This, no doubt, was doing a great deal. Beſides, they never worried their patients with drugs and operations, ſo that, if they did not aſſiſt nature, neither did they obſtruct her; and if they did not cure, neither did they kill, their patients. The Guaranis had likewiſe their conjurers, who boaſted a power of killing whoever they thought proper; and had, in fact, ſo far bewitched numbers, as to make them believe, that ſeveral had been carried off by the ſecret power of their incantations; ſo that it was ſometimes enough for a man to have an enemy, to be ſeized with a panic,

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and even die of it, if he had not wherewith to bribe these impostors.

The province inhabited by the Guaranis, of whom we have been speaking, for there are other Guaranis, as we said before, dispersed almost all over this part of South America, resembling, more or less, in manners and customs the nations among whom they are settled; the original province of Guayra, I mean, to which Father Salonio and Father Filds were now travelling, is almost equally divided by the tropic of Capricorn; and is bounded, to the East, by Brazil; to the North, by a very low and wet country covered with trees, but as yet very little known, though very populous; to the South, by the Uruguay; and to the West, by the Paraguay, though between the Guaranis and this last river there are several nations, most of whom live a wandering life. The weather of Guayra is almost every where unequal and inconstant; the air, in general, unwholesome; and accordingly, fevers are very common here. It naturally produces several fruits, as the guembe, the grenadilla, and dates of a very bitter taste. All the plains and low-lands are very fertile in pulse, roots, manioc, maiz, and other plants, which require little culture. It, likewise, abounds with many trees fit for building, particularly cedar, and every other species of pine and fir, in whose hollows honey and wax are found in great abundance. As to animals, it has all those already mentioned in the general description of Paraguay. To conclude, this province is watered by several rivers, the most considerable of which, next to the Parana, are the *Parapane*, which receives several other smaller ones; and the *Guibay*, upon which formerly stood Villarica, pretty near its discharge into the Parana, to which all the other rivers of this province are tributary.

THERE are certain ſtones in the province of Guayra, which for ſome years were greatly cried up. They are found, at a conſiderable diſtance under the ſurface of the earth, incloſed in a very hard cruſt of an oval figure. It is aſſured, that, when they have acquired their proper ſize, they ſhiver their covering to pieces, with a report equal to that made by a bomb in burſting, and iſſue forth in the form of a tranſparent ſtone with a very fine luſtre. But they are not all of one colour. Some are green, ſome of a violet colour, but moſt of them red. There is ſo much regularity, and, at the ſame time, ſo much variety in their form, that one can hardly be perſuaded that they are the work of nature. But all their beauty is ſuperficial; for, at bottom, they are of no more value than thoſe found in the country of Liege. The Spaniards, however, were at firſt ſo much deceived by their luſtre, that ſeveral had well nigh thrown up their ſettlements to carry quantities of them into Spain, thinking to make their fortunes by them. And, in fact, as ſoon as the news of this diſcovery reached that kingdom, it was given out, that Paraguay was full of amethyſts, carbuncles, and emeralds. But none were deceived, except ſuch as made moſt haſte to be firſt at market.

THE guemb̄e, which I mentioned, is an oblong fruit, pointed at both ends, and a palm in breadth. It is full of little yellowiſh grains, which taſte very ſweet when only ſucked, but, when broke between the teeth, throw out a juice, whoſe bitterneſs is not to be ſupported. It appears that the plant bearing this fruit is a kind of bean, which faſtens upon trees, and grows to a great height. The grains of this fruit when they happen to fall upon the bark of a rotten tree, immediately ſhoot out into threads, which, falling to the ground, immediately take root there, and produce plants of the ſame ſpecies.

I said that the dates of this country are bitter; notwithstanding which, some authors pretend, that they make wine of them, and a very nourishing kind of broth. The palm-trees, which bear them, and are to be found at every step, are a great resource to distressed travellers, as the pith of them is both palatable and nourishing.

The wild bears of Guayra, as well as of some other parts of Paraguay, have their navels on their backs; but, perhaps, it has not been observed any where else, this part must be cut off the moment the beast is dead, as, otherwise, it would soon infect the whole carcase. It is not less surprizing, that, though the honey of this province is excellent, no means have been hitherto found to bleach the wax found along with it.

Such was the country, where Father Filds and Father de Ortega undertook to preach Jesus Christ. They, first, repaired to Ciudad Real, where they learned, on their arrival, that not a single priest had been seen there for several years past; and, accordingly, they met with many inhabitants, who had scarce any thing christian about them but the name. After employing a whole month in catechising, preaching, and hearing confessions, in order to prepare them to partake worthily of the holy mysteries, they set out for Villarica, where the inhabitants laboured under the same spiritual distress; and they had the comfort of administring equal relief to them. This done, they visited the Indian towns and villages, which were, in a more particular manner, the object of their mission, and followed the wandering Guaranis through their forests, and over their mountains. Having spent several months in these excursions, they returned, by their superior Father Salonio's orders, to the Assumption, with the glad tidings, that they had left behind them two hun-

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dred thousand Indians, quite ripe for the kingdom of Christ.

1589. The plague now raged to a great degree in this capital, and had even gained the adjoining settlements. But, though it carried off numbers, three Jesuits exerted themselves so much, that none died without confession; and, during the nine months it lasted, nine thousand moribond Indians received baptism. In the mean time, Father de Ortega having received notice, that, thirty leagues beyond Villarica, there were a great number of wandering Guaranis, who had been formerly baptized, but who did not even know what baptism was, and, besides, greatly molested the Spaniards, he set out in quest of them; and, having at last met them, made them sensible of the obligations they had contracted in receiving that sacrament. He then repaired to Villarica, whose commandant, being desirous to gain over a great Indian town in the neighbourhood, concluded with great reason, that the best way to do it was to make christians of its inhabitants. He found no difficulty in prevailing on the missionary to join him in an expedition for that purpose. Father de Ortega instructed and baptized four hundred of the inhabitants in a very short time; but, at last, when he least suspected it, providentially discovered a conspiracy formed against his own and the governor's life, which obliged them to retire with some precipitation. The Indians who waited on the governor, having remained behind, paid for their master's escape, and were all murdered.

Father de Ortega, at his return to Villarica, found there Father Filds, who was come to bring him back to the Assumption by Father Salonio's orders; but the Spaniards and the Neophytes would not consent to part with them; and, on their superior, to whom a courier was immediately dis-

patched for that purpose, consenting to their stay, they immediately built a house and a chapel for them. In the mean time, a revolt, which broke out among the Calchaquis, contributed greatly to make the inhabitants of Tucuman consider the new missionaries as men equally useful to secure the repose of the Spaniards in these provinces, and establish the christian religion among the natives. There are in this continent two nations known by the name of Calchaquis, who, though they now live at a considerable distance asunder, originally formed but one, which, for a long time, was entirely confined to one of the vallies between the mountains of Peru, to the West of Salta, which to this day retains the name of *the valley of Calchaqui*. These barbarians, had, for several years, proved very troublesome neighbours to the Spaniards, till, at length, Don Alphonso Mercado and Villacorta, being for the second time governor of Tucuman, defeated them in 1565, when part of them fled towards Buenos Ayres, where their posterity still remains. The rest were transported to the frontiers of Chaco, and given in command.

1589-90. But the last, unable to bear any longer the drudgery of the personal service required from them, mutinied, and took refuge in the mountains, from whence they made frequent excursions into the Spanish settlements. Don Juan Ramirez de Velasco, successor to Don Alphonso, undertook to force them in their strong holds; or, at least, oblige them to remain quiet; and invited Father Barsena to accompany him in the expedition. The missionary consented in hopes of meeting with some opportunity of preaching Jesus Christ to them; nor was he entirely disappointed.

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The governor, being but little acquainted with the country, in a short time found himself engaged in some defiles, where the enemy had the precaution to place a strong party; and was in the utmost danger of being cut off with all his troops, when Father Barsena undertook to extricate him. For this purpose, he set out, alone, for the place where the Calchaquis were posted; and having happily reached them at the top of a high mountain, notwithstanding all their endeavours to intercept him, he surprised them so much by his boldness, that they gazed on him like so many statues. In the mean time, he addressed them with so much mildness, and in so engaging a manner, that he soon prevailed upon them not to molest the Spaniards any longer; promising, on his side, that, as long as they remained quiet, the Spaniards should never attempt to give them the least disturbance.

Not satisfied with this success, he remained with them sometime longer for the nobler purpose of scattering the seed of the gospel amongst them; after which he set out for the country of the Indians called Lulles, among whom he expected to find the spiritual harvest in great forwardness, as some of them had been civilized and baptised by Saint Francis Solano, though, on being cruelly treated by the Spaniards to whom they had been given in command, they dispersed again. It is probable, the Calchaquis set out for their valley soon after his departure; at least, we shall find them there in the course of this history.

Of all the barbarians of the new world, these Lulles were, perhaps, the most barbarous, since the women amongst them, though ever willing to give their breast to puppies that happen to have lost their dam, cannot be prevailed to give them the one to the offspring of another, so that it is a common thing amongst them, when a woman happens to

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die with a child at her breast, to bury it along with her, for want of some other woman to give it suck. To this want of the feelings most common to man and beast, they added the greatest aversion for any kind of restraint; for, though they had their caciques like other nations, they allowed them no authority but in time of war, when it was impossible to do without them. At other times, every man was his own master; even the fathers of families had no more power than any other person belonging to it. Their marriages were no way binding; the least whim was sufficient to part husband and wife, and the children paid no obedience to either. Prostitution, moreover, and artificial abortions were considered as indifferent actions; a girl's title to a husband never suffered by her destroying the unhappy fruit of her disorders; and, accordingly, an universal dissoluteness of manners prevailed, even among the youngest members of this strange nation. People of this character are not made to live in society; and, accordingly, every family lived apart, never uniting, but to celebrate some festivals, which they did with rites which modesty forbids us to mention; and in defence of their liberty, the only thing they are jealous of; so that they never attack any one on any other account.

The country inhabited by the Lulles is so dry, that for several months together they have no water, but what they receive directly from the clouds; or find in water melons, whose seeds they sow in great plenty; and in a certain root they call *Yacol*, which supplies them with large quantities of that useful element. The flesh of this root is white, and has a very agreeable taste; at least, they think so.

Such was the nation, which Father Barsena flattered himself with being able to gain over to the gospel, on his hearing that there were already

some

ſome chriſtians among them; and he, accordingly, entered their country with that zeal, which had been ſo ſucceſsful among others, when Father Juan Fonte, a new ſuperior lately arrived from Peru with Father Baptiſte Agnaſco, recalled him to Tucuman, on the report of his health and his ſtrength being greatly impaired, and the Lulles having, beſides, conſpired to take away his life. He was, afterwards, ordered to halt at St. Michael, which lay in his way, while the ſuperior himſelf, with Father Angulo his predeceſſor, took up his poſt near the Red River in the diſtrict of the Conception.

It was the adelantade Don Alphonſo de Vera, who had formed the project of this miſſion, with a view of collecting, in the neighbourhood of this city, as many of the natives of Chaco, as he poſſibly could, in order to form them into towns, and by that means facilitate their total converſion. Nothing could be better contrived than this plan; and, if it had been purſued, half the inhabitants of Chaco would have been chriſtians theſe ſeveral years paſt. But the great ſcarcity of miſſionaries, and, ſtill more, the ſcandalous lives of the ancient chriſtians, their avarice and their cruelty, made it miſcarry, in ſpite of all the Adelantade could do to make it ſucceed. The Indians neareſt to the Conception were a roving nation, called *Frontones* by the Spaniards, from a cuſtom they have of plucking up, by the roots, all the hair on the fore part of their heads, ſo as to make their foreheads appear higher by one-half than they really are.

Of the ſeveral tribes compoſing this nation, the leaſt barbarous were the *Mataras* or *Mataranes*; and it was by them, chiefly, the adelantade intended to begin his laudable ſcheme of ſecuring the friendſhip of all the Indians ſubject to his government, by the bonds of religion, in as much as ſeveral of them had been already baptized, probably by St.

Francis Solano, or some of the companions of his apostleship; though there scarce remained among them the least traces of the christian religion.

1590. Don Alphonso de Vera gave the missionaries a very kind reception; but, as he was in haste to have all the Mataranes christians, he could not be satisfied with their presence; and, therefore, entreated father Fonte to send for the Fathers Agnasco and Barsena. It is incredible, what a number of souls these four labourers gained over to Jesus Christ in less than twelve months, though a great part of it was necessarily spent in learning their language. This success determined them to penetrate further into this barbarous country. But, on the representations of the Spaniards, that the people they intended to go in quest of were no way disposed to receive them, it was resolved that Father Fonte and Father Angulo should stay behind. Don Alphonso ordered a party of soldiers, commanded by his brother Don Francis de Vera, to escort the other two, in spite of all they could say to prevent it; for they apprehended that this precaution would spoil all their measures; and it happened accordingly. The *Mogosnas*, the most unsettled and dissolute nation among the Frontones, artfully surprized this detachment; and murdered every soul of them, their commander not excepted; upon which, the adelantade being resolved to revenge his brother's death, a war ensued, which deprived the missionaries of all hopes of succeeding in their undertaking, and made them set out in search of some opportunity to exercise their functions to advantage. Accordingly, after making some excursions in the neighbourhood of the Conception without finding any nation disposed to listen to them, they crossed the Rio de la Plata, and marched along the banks of it to *Saint John de Corrientes*, a little town lately

founded

founded just above the confluence of the Paraguay and the Parana, where the Spaniards and some Indians in the neighbourhood had invited them, and amply rewarded their trouble in coming, by making the proper use of their stay amongst them.

1593. In the mean time, the provincial of the jesuits of Peru recalled Father Fonte; and sent Father Romero to succeed him as superior in Paraguay; and, along with him, the Fathers Gaspar de Monroy, Juan Viana, and Marcello Lorencana. The first thing Father Romero did on his arrival in Tucuman, was to give up a piece of ground, that had been made a present of to his predecessor near Salta, for the subsistence of the missionaries of the company who had no other funds to depend upon. His reasons for taking this step were; first, that his religious were too few to settle in any place, and make any thing of such an acquisition; and, secondly, this piece of ground could not be turned to any account, but by procuring Indians to cultivate it; and he did not chuse to authorize, by his example, the crying abuse of personal services. He then thought proper to distribute his missionaries among those places, where he imagined their labours might be attended with most success. He ordered the Fathers de Ortega and Filds to remain among the Guaranis; sent the Fathers Angulo and Viana to Santiago; and named the Fathers Agnasco and de Monroy for an expedition among the *Omaguacas*, a nation established on the frontiers of Tucuman and Peru. As to himself, he fixed upon no particular place, in order to be always the readier to run wherever his assistance might be most wanting.

The *Omaguacas* were a very fierce and savage people, who, after receiving the gospel, and submitting to the crown of Spain, had renounced Jesus Christ; thrown off the Spanish yoke; murdered their

missionaries; massacred all the Spaniards they could lay their hands on; twice destroyed the town of Jujuy; and, for thirty years past, were perpetually making irruptions into this part of Tucuman, which, in consequence of their depredations, was become a mere desart. To oppose a dyke to this torrent, the governor of the province resolved, to begin by rebuilding the town of Jujuy, and putting it, to the best of his power, in a respectable condition. Don Francisco de Arganerez, whom he had charged with this commission, after sufficiently justifying the choice that had been made of him, took the field; rendered the Spaniards, in their turn, formidable to the Omaguacas; disposed the Indians to receive missionaries; and restored tranquility to the province, not only on this side, but on that of Chaco.

It was two years, however, before he could trust to their mercy the missionaries commissioned to bring back these Indians to the worship of the true God; but they had enough to do elsewhere, during this interval. On the other hand, the Fathers Barsena and Lorencana no sooner arrived at the Assumption, than they embarked on the Paraguay, in order to remount that river, and establish a mission as far to the north as it was possible. They spent four months in this voyage; and had so much reason to be satisfied with the docility of the Indians they visited, that, though, by the time they got back to the Assumption, they were quite exhausted with sickness and fatigue, they would have set out immediately, to finish what they had so happily begun, if Father Romero, who was already arrived there, had not detained them.

Father Romero's errand to the Assumption was to examine, in person, what services could be done to religion in the province of Rio de la Plata; and he intended to make but a very short stay in it. But he soon found more work on his hands than

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he, at first, expected. This, however, he had no reason to repent. All his enterprizes for the salvation of souls were crowned with success. But, that, which most endeared him to the inhabitants, was his reconciling the secular clergy of the diocess with the vicar general who governed it while the see was vacant, at a time that the misunderstanding between them was on the point of breaking out into a scandalous rupture. He, afterwards, made some excursions into the towns of the Guaranis, that lay nearest to the city; and acquired the affection of the Indians to such a degree, that, at his return to the Assumption, the inhabitants vied with each other, who should give him the first and greatest marks of the highest esteem and the sincerest confidence. The nobility, moreover, and the magistrates, taking it into their serious consideration, what they might reasonably expect from six or seven religious, who, though they had scarce time to shew themselves in these provinces, had so intirely changed the face of them in regard to religion and good manners, thought, that, in order never to want such valuable labourers, they could not do better than give them a solid establishment in the capital.

After deliberating, therefore, on this affair, without their knowledge, they took a resolution to write to the king, the general of the company, and the provincial of Peru, to obtain their consent for erecting a college of Jesuits at the Assumption, and a sufficient number of religious to fill all the charges of one. They even went further. For, as they made no doubt of receiving a favourable answer to their letters, they immediately bought, with the public money, a spot of ground for a house and a church to stand upon; and father Romero, in spite of his reluctance to accept of an establishment, as he judged it rather premature,

was

was obliged to comply, till the further pleaſure of his catholic majeſty, and of his general, ſhould be known. The work, therefore, was immediately ſet about. The inhabitants, the women of the beſt families not excepted, would put a hand to it; and they ſpared no expence, though the ſuperior did all that lay in his power to moderate their zeal. The only anſwer he could obtain to all his repreſentations was, that what they did, they did it for Jeſus Chriſt; and, of courſe, ought not to be afraid of doing too much. At length, the houſe was finiſhed in 1595; and, though the church ſtill wanted ſomething, the bleſſed ſacrament was placed there in a decent and becoming manner.

1594-5. THIS great liking to the Jeſuits was chiefly owing to the facility, with which they were known to handle the minds of the moſt untractable of thoſe Indians who ſurrounded the Spaniards; and againſt whom all force, and all fair means tried by any other mediators, had been hitherto found a very weak defence. The Indians, on the other hand, flattered themſelves, that the Spaniards might be prevailed upon by men, for whom they expreſſed ſo much eſteem, to treat them better than they had hitherto done. This, their own intereſt ſhould have engaged the Spaniards to do; for paſt experience had ſufficiently proved, that the only way to eſtabliſh themſelves ſolidly among ſo many nations, jealous of their liberty, was to better their condition. But ſuch was their infatuation, that in a ſhort time, they began to think ill of thoſe very men, whom they had ſo lately been crying up to the ſkies, as patterns of every virtue; and that merely for pleading the cauſe of thoſe Indians, without whoſe friendſhip, as will afterwards appear, it was impoſſible for the Spaniards to live in the country.

FATHER

Father Monroy, with a lay brother Jesuit, called Juan de Toledo, had, at length, reached the Omaguacas, and found so little difficulty in gaining their attention, that five towns soon applied for instruction, and were speedily followed by so many others, that nothing now remained, in order to establish the kingdom of Jesus Christ among the Omaguacas, but to reduce one of their Caciques, called Piltipicon, who, having been baptized in his infancy, had renounced the gospel, and rendered the Spaniards all the evil he pretended to have received from them; massacring their priests; burning their churches; and ravaging their settlements. Father Monroy, therefore, armed with all that confidence which Jesus Christ has much recommended to the preachers of his gospel, resolved to reduce, if possible, this terrible Cacique; and set out, alone, to confer with him. As soon as he came into the chief's presence, he told him, that the good wishes he entertained for his real happiness had made him despise the terrors of an almost certain death, in order to engage him to think seriously of his welfare. "But, then, added he, you cannot expect much honour by taking away the life of a naked man. If, contrary to my expectation, you will consent to listen to me, all the advantage of our conversation will be yours; whereas, if I die by your hands, an immortal crown in heaven will be my reward."

Piltipicon was so amazed, or rather softened by the missionary's boldness, that he presented him with a kind of beer, which the Omaguaca women make with Maiz well ground between their teeth; and, however nauseous this liquor appeared to the missionary, he drank some of it. He then asked Piltipicon's leave to penetrate further into the country to preach Jesus Christ, with some provisions for his journey. Piltipicon civilly

civilly granted every thing he aſked; and the miſſionary found every where the ſame docility he had hitherto experienced, and made the ſame ſucceſsful uſe of it. He afterwards returned to Piltipicon; and managed him ſo dexterouſly, that he prevailed upon him to make peace with the Spaniards on conditions, which he firſt ſettled, and the governor of Tucuman afterwards ratified and confirmed.

1596. THE news of this treaty filled the province with joy, and procured father Monroy, from every quarter, praiſes and thanks, to which, however, he was altogether inſenſible, as, while the Cacique refuſed to return under the yoke of the goſpel, he could entertain no reaſonable hopes of being able to convert all his nation. It was not long, before a report prevailed, that Piltipicon thought nothing of the peace to which he had ſworn, and had even conſpired with another apoſtate Cacique, to ruin, a third time, the town of Jujuy; and, though this report had no foundation, the governor of Jujuy thought proper to put it out of the power of the Caciques to hurt him; and having then found means to draw them into the place, ſecured their perſons.

THIS was enough to render the Omaguacas irreconcileable; but father Agnaſco, who very fortunately happened to be then at Jujuy, and father Monroy, who haſtened back to it, on the firſt notice he received of the governor's behaviour, repaired all the miſchief that had been done. The two priſoners were ſet at liberty; kindly uſed by the inhabitants; and, after ſome friendly conferences with the governor, terminated all differences by a ſincere return to the goſpel. The whole nation ſoon followed their example. Soon after, the miſſionaries, thinking it abſolutely requiſite to remove them from that part of the country they now

now occupied, as it could not be reaſonably expected they ſhould long remain there without their neighbours attempting to ſeduce them; the new chriſtians conſented to this tranſmigration with more readineſs than could at firſt be well expected from them; and followed their ſpiritual fathers to a ſpot nearer Tucuman, where a zealous ſecular prieſt, who underſtood their language perfectly well, was appointed to govern them.

THIS event was ſoon followed by the deaths of father Barſena in Peru; and father Salonio, at the Aſſumption; the loſs of whom was immediately felt, though their places were ſoon filled up by others; the call for evangelical labourers encreaſing in theſe provinces, in a much greater proportion, then it was poſſible to ſupply it. That of Guayra, eſpecially, was become, from day to day, more diſpoſed to receive the goſpel, through the indefatigable zeal of Father Filds and Father de Ortega, who, for eight years paſt, could almoſt number their days by the flocks of infidels they brought home to the fold of the ſovereign paſtor of ſouls. It is true, this ſucceſs coſt them ſuch labour and fatigue, as one would be apt to imagine, far exceeded the ſtrength of the human frame. The journeys, alone, which they were often obliged to undertake in queſt of the infidels, were ſufficient to damp any zeal leſs than that which animated them. Of this truth the following is a ſtriking inſtance.

As Father de Ortega was once croſſing, in company with his catechiſt, and ſome Neophytes and Catechumens, a plain between two rivers, of which one falls into the Paraguay, and the other into the Parana, both ſuddenly ſwelled to ſuch a degree, that all the land between them became, almoſt inſtantaneouſly, one vaſt ſea. Nothing, they ſay, is more

more common in this country, than such sudden inundations; which are, moreover, too irregular to admit of any precaution being taken against them. The missionary, therefore, was not much surprized at the present; and thought he might escape, by travelling, for some time, up to his waist in water, as he had often before been obliged to do; but he soon lost ground; and was forced, in order to save his life, to climb up a tree. The Indians, who accompanied him, did the same; but, as they had not precaution enough to chuse the highest trees, the water soon reached them. The Father, more fortunate or provident, was safe enough upon his, with his catechist, when the cries of his children, who were endeavouring to fasten upon the highest branches, and were exhausted with fatigue, pierced him to the heart.

The waters still continued to swell; and, as the travellers had no provisions about them, they were in the most evident danger, either of perishing with hunger, or dropping, through faintness, into the water, and being drowned. While the missionary was making these melancholy reflections, there came on a shower attended with thunder and lightning, and a very impetuous wind, which contributed greatly to increase the horrors of their dreadful situation. Besides, the surface of the water was covered with tigers, lions, and several other ravenous beasts; and even serpents and vipers, which the inundation had likewise surprized. At length, one of these reptiles, of an enormous size, fastened upon one of the branches of the tree, where Father de Ortega was perched; and the missionary every minute expected to be devoured by the monster; when, the branch it was on happily breaking, it fell back into the water, and turned another way.

The travellers had now been two days in this dreadful situation, the storm continuing all the

time,

time, and the waters rather riſing than falling; when, about midnight, the miſſionary perceived, by means of the flaſhes that filled the heavens, one of his Indians ſwimming towards him by the ſame light; and crying out, as ſoon as he was near enough to be heard, that three Catechumens and three chriſtians were on the point of expiring; and moſt earneſtly requeſted his aſſiſtance. Upon this, Father de Ortega, having firſt tied his catechiſt to the tree, the poor man being no longer in a condition to ſupport himſelf, and then confeſſed him, threw himſelf into the water, to follow the Indian who came to call him; and, in ſpite of the waves, and the branches of trees, moſt of them covered all over with thorns, one of which ran quite through his thigh, he reached the catechumens, whom he found hanging by their arms to the branches; he baptized them in that poſture; and the next moment, had the mortification of ſeeing them fall into the water, where it was impoſſible to ſave them from drowning. He then haſtened to the three Neophytes, two of whom periſhed a few moments after.

Having thus performed his office, he ſet out for his tree, and got to it very ſeaſonably for his catechiſt, who had now the water up to his neck. He immediately untied the poor man, and helped him as well as he could to a higher branch. That very evening the waters began to ſubſide; and, as ſoon as the Father could put his foot on the ground, he ſet out to viſit his fellow travellers that he had left alive. In the mean time, his thigh, where the thorn ſtill remained, had ſwelled to ſuch a degree, that, after he had taken a few ſteps, the Indians were obliged to carry him to Villarica to be dreſſed; but he got there too late to expect a perfect cure; ſo that after two and twenty years that he ſurvived this accident, his wound, which could never be

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perfectly closed, gave him, from time to time, the greatest uneasiness. He soon, however, resumed his functions; and was called back with Father Filds to the Assumption, where Father Lorencana, who had remained alone there, could no longer answer all the calls of the inhabitants.

Father Romero, in the mean time, during eighteen months that he spent at Santafe, had endeared himself greatly to both Spaniards and Indians; and so much to the former, that they wrote to the provincial of the Jesuits in Peru, to offer him a house in their town. But, though there arrived, the year following, a new reinforcement of missionaries from that kingdom, it was not possible to fix any of them there. The superior, who had repaired to Tucuman to receive the new missionaries, undertook, in company with Father John Dario, an Italian, and brother John Rodriguez, a mission in the city of Corduba. Though the inhabitants, at first, treated them very coolly, on account of some umbrage they had taken at them; on knowing them better, they offered them a house and a chapel very conveniently situated; and soon after, the magistrates, finding that the chapel was too small to contain the crowds that flocked to it, ordered the plan of a church to be traced out, and immediately put men to work at the foundation. The Indians in the neighbourhood, who had been instructed by the Fathers de Ortega and Barsena being informed by Father Romero and his companions, who went to pay them a visit, that a church was now building at Corbuba, large enough to receive them, when there should be no missionaries to send to them, immediately offered to transport all the materials necessary to finish it; and their offer being accepted, it was soon happily finished.

1600

1600. FATHER Romero made no ſtay at Corduba; but ſet out, with Father Monroy, to carry the light of the goſpel among the *Diaguites*, who live near the ſouthern extremity of Tucuman. These Indians, leſs addicted to drunkenneſs than their neighbours, had conceived a very great eſteem for the Jeſuits, of whom they had heard, among other things, that they did all that lay in their power to hinder the Indians from being ill uſed; and this happy prevention had given hopes to a Spaniſh gentleman, called John de Abreu, whoſe father had been governor of Tucuman, that, if he made his appearance among them, along with the Fathers of the company, he would find it an eaſy matter to civilize them. The miſſionaries, on their ſide, who knew but little of the language of theſe people, or the road to their country, were overjoyed to find, in a man of his rank both a guide, and an interpreter, that could not fail of rendering their miniſtry ſtill more reſpectable. And it happened accordingly. They were almoſt every where very well received, and very attentively liſtened to, till the king's lieutenant at Salta interfered with their labours, through a falſe zeal for the welfare of his Spaniſh fellow-ſubjects.

1601. THIS officer, (who had, it is probable, received from the governor of the province a general order, to engage all the new chriſtians to acknowledge the king of Spain for their ſovereign) having heard of the many converſions wrought among the Diaguites, imagined he ſhould find no difficulty in making them conſent to every thing preſcribed them in the name, and for the ſervice, of his majeſty. He, therefore, ordered them, without any further ceremony, to ſend a certain number of labourers to Salta. This proceeding both ſurprized and exaſperated the Diaguites to

 ſuch

ſuch a degree, that the fathers, after ſome parleys with them to very little purpoſe, thought it prudent to retire to Corduba till a more favourable opportunity.

1602. THE next year, Father Paez having arrived at Salta, with a commiſſion from the general of the jeſuits to viſit all the houſes of his order in this part of the world, he immediately after his arrival, called together all the miſſionaries diſperſed over the province of Tucuman, and that of Rio de la Plata, which ſtill comprehended the diſtrict ſince ſeparated from it by the name of the province of Paraguay. After conferring ſeparately with every one of them, he aſſembled them in council, in order to fix, in concert with them, upon ſome uniform method to be obſerved in preaching the goſpel to ſo many different and diſtant nations; as uniform a method, at leaſt, as the ſituation of places, and other circumſtances would admit.

HE began by telling them, that he did not approve their rambling miſſions from one extremity of thoſe vaſt provinces to another, as little ſtreſs, he thought, could be laid on rapid converſions; which, beſides, their being too often the fruit of a ſudden emotion, it was impoſſible to perfect, in the ſmall ſpace of time allowed for them; that of this there was a very ſtriking inſtance in the apoſtleſhip of the holy Father Francis Solano, ſtill living, of whoſe labours, though he had viſited every part of Tucuman, and a great part of Chaco, and converted in both a vaſt number of infidels, there ſcarce remained any traces, on account of his having no where made any fixed ſettlement. He then obſerved, that it was with the ſeed of the goſpel, as with that committed to the earth, which, after being ſown, required ſeveral other operations, and the

the most constant attention, before the produce of it could be gathered into the barn.

THOUGH those, to whom this discourse was addressed, were, in the main, of the same opinion with Father Paez, they could not, among other things, help representing to him, that it was their duty to go wherever the bishops, or those who governed the vacant dioceses, required them; that, besides, persons engaged in this way of life were not always masters of themselves, but obliged to follow the secret impulses of providence for the salvation of certain predestinated souls; that their courses were, moreover, authorized by the many miracles wrought by Father Francis Solano in his transitions from place to place; and that, after all, the missions they had made were very far from being useless, since they had thereby acquired a sufficient knowledge of the country, and of the various dispositions of the several nations, to whom they were to preach the gospel. Each, after this, proposed what he thought was best to be done, considering the present situation of affairs in the vast country, where they had undertaken to establish the christian religion on the ruins of idolatry.

THE visiter then drew up some regulations for the conduct of his brethren in these provinces. The first was, to leave to the jesuits of Brazil all the country to the east of the Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, as that kingdom lay more convenient, and was more in a condition than Peru, to supply it with missionaries; and such missionaries would, besides, come there masters of the language most current among the inhabitants. This project no sooner got wind, than all the Spaniards of Tucuman approved it, and most of the towns wrote to the general of the company for jesuits, with offers to build and endow colleges for them.

BUT it was quite otherwiſe at the Aſſumption, which, as we have ſeen, ſtands on the eaſtern banks of the Paraguay. The departure of the Jeſuits eſtabliſhed there, in order to wait on the viſiter at Salta, was very variouſly interpreted. All imagined, they were gone never to return again; and ſome ſhewed, by their tears and their complaints, how ſincerely concerned they were to loſe them, whilſt the greateſt number broke out into invectives, from which the behaviour of theſe religious might, one would imagine, have been ſufficient to exempt them. The latter gave out, that the members of this new inſtitute took no delight in poor colonies; and could only ſettle in countries that were rich in themſelves, or lay near enough to Peru, to be enriched by it; that if their zeal for the ſalvation of ſouls was ſincere, they would not turn their backs upon a country, in which they might expect to find more opportunities, than in any other, of exerciſing it to advantage, and in which nothing had been omitted to give them proofs of the moſt entire confidence; that, after all, the promiſe, with which they amuſed the inhabitants of the Aſſumption of ſending them Portugueſe Jeſuits, was but a mere pretext, being highly improbable, that the royal council of the Indies ſhould admit into the ſtates of his catholic majeſty, miſſionaries that were not his natural born ſubjects; or the crown of Liſbon take upon itſelf the charge of ſupplying with miſſionaries a country, which did not belong to it. This was a difficulty, upon which, however obvious, Father Paiz, it ſeems, had not, at firſt, ſufficiently reflected. However, though he did not immediately yield to the firſt remonſtrances againſt this part of his plan, he took no ſteps to carry it into execution; and by that means afforded his brethren an opportunity of making him obſerve, before

before it was too late, the ill consequences that might attend it.

In the mean time, Father de Ortega received orders to repair to Lima, at five hundred leagues distance, and surrender himself to the supreme inquisition of Peru; and, though his last journey of no less than three hundred leagues, which he had been obliged to travel to reach Salta, had considerably encreased his pains, he immediately set out. But neither his prompt obedience, nor his apostolical labours in Brazil and Paraguay, could hinder his being shut up, on his arrival, in the prison of the holy office. We may well imagine, that the news of this event astonished all those, who knew any thing of his indefatigable zeal. They could not conceive, that a man, who had done so many heroic things in the exercise of his ministry, and in whose favour heaven had declared itself by several miracles, could deserve to be treated like a criminal, especially in his present weak state of health. He could not himself guess what he was accused of. However, the known integrity of the tribunal, which treated him with so much rigour, and the silence observed by the servant of God himself in so mortifying a situation, hindered the public from pronouncing him innocent.

He lay five months in prison, without being accused of any thing; his judges still expecting, that he would accuse himself, which, as his conscience reproached him with nothing, it was impossible for him to do. At the expiration of this term, his superiors obtained leave to take him home, on condition that they should deliver him up again when called for; and, in the mean time, not permit him to go out of their house, or say mass, or see any persons but those of his own order; and in this condition

dition he ſpent two years. At length, an act arrived from Paraguay, which fully juſtified him. This was a retractation judicially made, before ſeveral witneſſes who had ſigned it, by an inhabitant of Villarica, who had accuſed him of having revealed his confeſſion, but now declared, on his death-bed, that it was a mere calumny, invented to puniſh the holy man, for refuſing to abſolve him but on conditions, with which, however, wiſe and juſt, he was not willing to comply.

The preſident of the Inquiſition, no ſooner received this writing, than he, in the moſt ſolemn manner, publiſhed Father de Ortega's innocence, and reſtored him to all his rights and privileges. Soon after, Don Gaſpar Zunida, viceroy of Peru, caſt his eyes upon him as the fitteſt man, in the world, to ſend to his toubleſome and dangerous neighbours the Chiriguanes, who had lately applied to him for miſſionaries, and he, therefore, imagined were, at laſt, ſincerely diſpoſed to embrace the goſpel. Though Father de Ortega conſidered this application as no better than a ſtratagem to gain time, in order to renew, with greater vigour, their hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards, he thought proper to comply with Don Gaſpar's requeſt; and immediately ſet out for that country, with Father Villarnao, another jeſuit; and ſpent two years among them; when his ſuperiors, finding that his zeal was thrown away upon them; and that, beſides, he was quite broke down with fatigue, they ordered him to la Plata, where he died, about the year 1624, in an extreme old age. After he had abandoned the Chiriguanes, Father Auguſtin Fabio, a Franciſcan, attended by a lay-brother, and ſome other Spaniards, entered their mountains by the valley of Tarija, and was happy enough to make ſome converſions, and even build a church among them. But, during a journey he was obliged to make to la Plata, theſe bar-

barians

barians maſſacred all the Spaniards he had brought with him; drove his lay-brother out of the country; and ſo effectually ſhut up all the avenues to their mountains, that Father Fabio could never get among them again.

End of the Fourth Book.

BOOK V.

Jesuits invited back to the Assumption; established at Buenos Ayres. Fresh quarrels between the Spaniards and them, touching the liberty of the Indians, notwithstanding the conditions on which the Jesuits formed settlements amongst both. King of Spain interposes his authority in favour of the latter. Guaranis civilized and converted in great numbers by the Jesuits; and formed into towns, called reductions, under the care of these Fathers, but subject to the crown of Spain, which accordingly supports the measures taken by the Jesuits. Description of the reductions. Bishop of Buenos Ayres visits them. His letter on the occasion to the king of Spain.

1604. NOtwithstanding all the invectives spread against the Jesuits at the Assumption, the Magistrates of that capital, and the vicar-general of the diocese, had written to the general of the company to complain of Father Paez; and, soon after, the new bishop of the Assumption, Don Martin Ignatius de Loyola, formerly of the order of St. Francis, and nephew to the Saint of that name, wrote to Father Romero, that, had he known the jesuits would abandon his diocese, he never would have accepted the government of it; and, therefore, requested him to send them back directly; otherwise, he would apply to his general; and, if requisite, to his catholic majesty; and even

even the Pope; to make him comply; and he was, it ſeems, ſo much in earneſt, that he wrote to the general, before he could get Father Romero's anſwer. This, however, proved an unneceſſary trouble, as Father Romero, who could never reliſh Father Paez's ſyſtem, had already ſent him Father Lorencana and Father Joſeph Cateldino; and, ſoon after, had the pleaſure of finding what he had thus done through his own diſcretion, recommended to him by his general and his provincial.

THESE two miſſionaries immediately ſet out by water for the Aſſumption; but were wrecked in the paſſage; and, after narrowly eſcaping being drowned, through the boldneſs and affection of their Indian companions, who reſcued them from the waves with the greateſt difficulty, and at the hazard of their own lives, they were on the point of periſhing with hunger, when they providentially diſcovered the biſhop going down the river to Buenos Ayres. This prelate, who little expected to meet thoſe he ſo much longed for, embraced them tenderly; entertained them in the beſt manner he was able; gave them one of his barks loaded with proviſions, to continue their journey; and, at parting, conferred on them all the power he could to the utmoſt limits of his juriſdiction, which, as yet, extended to the ſea. The inhabitants of the Aſſumption received them, likewiſe, with the greateſt reſpect and affection. But it was not long before they met with ſome of thoſe contradictions, which Jeſus Chriſt ordered his apoſtles to conſider as a ſure mark of their being his ſervants.

THEY had, it ſeems, declared too openly in favour of the Indians, and againſt the abuſe the Spaniards made of the commands, to enjoy much longer the good-will and confidence of thoſe, whom the moſt alarming experience could not convince, how much it was their intereſt to treat the natives of the

the country in a more gentle and equitable manner. But what is to the laſt degree ſurprizing, their diſlike broke out on occaſion of an event, which ſhould have produced a quite contrary effect. Some Indians, who were ſettled on the banks of the Paraguay, and had been given in command, roſe up, and maſſacred ſeveral Spaniards. The news of this having reached the capital in the governor's abſence, the officer, who commanded in his place, ſet out with a party of ſoldiers to chaſtize them. But changing his mind on the road, for what reaſon we are not told, he fell upon ſome other Indians, whom he found unarmed, though they were allies to the Spaniards, and had always been faithful to them; treated them like enemies; loaded a great number of them with chains; led them, as it were, in triumph to the capital; and ſold them for ſlaves to the beſt bidder.

Father Lorencana thought himſelf bound not to paſs over in ſilence ſo crying an act of injuſtice; and, finding that his private remonſtrances to the ſellers and the buyers of the pretended captives, made no impreſſion on them, got into the pulpit; and openly threatened them with the anger of heaven, if they did not immediately ſet the poor Indians at liberty. Upon this, the treaſurer of the cathedral, who happened to be preſent, ſilenced him directly, and commanded him to leave the church. Father Lorencana obeyed without betraying the leaſt concern; and this unexpected moderation ſtruck the audience ſo much, that a buzz of indignation immediately aroſe among them againſt the treaſurer, who, troubled and confounded at this mark of their diſapprobation, could ſcarce compoſe himſelf enough to own publickly, that he had done wrong to inſult an honeſt man, barely for being bold enough to do his duty.

This confession, extorted perhaps by fear, was succeeded by violent agitations, which hindered him from enjoying, by day or night, a moment's repose; and terminated in convulsions, savouring of madness, in which he expired. Other shocking circumstances were related of his tragical end, which, though I dare not aver them, as being founded merely on popular report, were so firmly believed by the multitude, that this event contributed more to the enlargement of the captives, than the most pathetic exhortations of the missionaries. But, though this affair terminated in appearance, to the advantage of the Jesuits, it was not long before they discovered in the minds of the inhabitants a leaven of dislike, which has been ever since constantly fermenting; and has, as we shall see hereafter, often shewed itself by the most surprizing effects.

1605-7. Two or three years after this happened, Father Diego de Torrez arrived from Rome, in quality of Provincial of Chili and Paraguay; and, as he came by the way of Peru visited, on his road, the Omaguacas, that had been already converted to the faith; and passed through Jujuy and Salta, whose inhabitants applied to him for colleges. But, though he brought a reinforcement of fifteen Jesuits with him, he had not enough for that purpose; and was, therefore, obliged to excuse himself from complying with their request, till the arrival of another supply of spiritual recruits. From Salta, he repaired with his flock to Santiago, where Don Francis Treco, the bishop; Don Francis de Ribera, the governor of the province; and, in a word, all the inhabitants received them with the greatest testimonies of respect and affection. The bishop, in particular, among many other obliging things, publicly declared in his cathedral, that, had the report lately

spread

ſpread of the company's intentions to abandon theſe provinces proved true, he would have renounced his biſhoprick, to ſave himſelf the concern, of ſeeing periſh, for want of ſpiritual aſſiſtance, ſo many ſouls purchaſed with the precious blood of Jeſus Chriſt. The biſhop had the more reaſon to ſpeak in this manner, as the provincial, in preſenting his children to him, told him, that it was the general's intention, that they ſhould be intirely at his diſpoſal.

1608. THE year after this, eight Jeſuits, ſent by the general of their order, and defrayed by the king of Spain, landed at Buenos Ayres, where the inhabitants, apprized of their coming, had expected them with the greateſt impatience, and retained ſome of them with a view of founding a college. This port, it ſeems, had already begun to flouriſh by commerce; for, though the king of Spain had not opened it for ſtrangers, ſeveral foreign veſſels put in there from time to time, as if driven by ſtreſs of weather, or upon ſome ſuch other pretext; were well received; and carried on a trade equally beneficial to themſelves and the inhabitants.

ALL this time, the Indians neareſt to the city, many of whom were of almoſt gigantic ſtature, continued in their primitive ſavageneſs; killing without mercy all the Spaniards they could lay their hands on; ſo that not one of the inhabitants dared to ſhew his face at any diſtance from the town. Some of theſe Indians had, it is true, been reduced; and might have been gained over to chriſtianity, or at leaſt prepared to liſten to the firſt miſſionaries, that could be ſent to them, had they not been condemned to perſonal ſervice, which rendered abortive ſome few attempts made to convert them. At length, however, the inhabitants expected to ſee ſo deſirable a conqueſt effected by the

the Jesuits lately arrived among them. But it was too late to recover, by mildness and persuasion, barbarians, whom superior force alone kept within bounds. Besides, the missionaries, thought it would be losing their time, to preach to them a God full of goodness and mercy, while those, who made profession of serving the same God, retained them in the most cruel slavery.

THE Jesuits, therefore, proposed, to the inhabitants to lighten the yoke of these unhappy creatures, in order to dispose them to receive the gospel; but they took offence at this proposal. The Spaniards of Tucuman, who had lately given the Jesuits among them so promising a reception, and thereby, in appearance, authorized them to make the same representations, carried things to far greater lengths. Their provincial, at his return from Chili in the course of his visitation, having stop at Cordouba to settle a noviceship lately formed there, which already began to fill pretty fast, thought it his duty, when all the buildings were finished, not to dismiss, without payment, the Indians, who, to the great surprize of all the inhabitants, had been most prodigal of their sweat and labour in erecting them.

The inhabitants soon gave him to understand, that this act of justice appeared of dangerous consequence to them; and, finding it was impossible to persuade him, that he had done amiss, flattered themselves that they might succeed better by withholding their alms, which were as yet, in a manner, the only thing he and his brethren had to live on; but here, too, they were deceived. Providence, upon which, father Torrez relied a great deal more than on any human assistance, did not abandon him. He then undertook to awaken by his words, as he had already done by his example, the consciences of the inhabitants in regard to the in-

justice

justice and cruelty, with which they treated the Indians; and, as he saw his reasons made no impression upon them, concluded by publickly threatening them with the anger of the Almighty, and that of his catholic majesty, of whose intentions, in this respect, they could not be ignorant.

THESE threats were soon, in some measure, accomplished. A sudden and unexpected inundation laid the town under water, and destroyed part of its buildings, which at that time were not very solid; an impetuous storm of rain and thunder ravaged the country; a plague succeeded, and swept away a great number of the inhabitants. These, almost indubitable, marks of the anger of heaven made some impression on those, who were not as yet quite lost to all sentiments of religion and humanity; but a far greater number obstinately persisted in their wickedness; and even grew more inveterate against the jesuits, who ceased not to upbraid them with it. They cut off, as much as possible, the usual supply of provisions; and, at last reduced them to a small quantity of maiz, left in their granary, and some other vegetables their garden afforded.

ALL this time, the jesuits continued to plead, with unshaken constancy, the cause of the poor oppressed Indians; and Father de Torrez, at his departure from Corduba to visit the other houses of his order, recommended, above all things, to the jesuits he left behind him, to place their confidence in him alone, whose interests they defended. They did so, and providence did not forsake them. For, though the procurator received from him, at his departure, but eighty crowns to maintain a numerous community, he found, that, in the eight succeeding months, he spent eight hundred, without borrowing a penny, or being able to tell from what quarter he had received the surplus.

The persecution which Father Torrez had suffered at Corduba followed him to Santiago. The inhabitants of this town concluded from what they had heard of his transactions in favour of the Indians of Chili and the neighbourhood of Corduba, that it was in vain to expect any indulgence from him on this head. Thus prejudiced against these fathers, they made no scruple of publickly affirming, that the jesuits had not been accused, without reason, of troubling people's consciences by filling them with groundless scruples; that it was impossible the spirit of God should inspire such severity, which, no doubt, served only to cover some shameful views of interest and ambition; that these Fathers could have no other design, in endearing themselves to the Indians, than that of becoming, themselves, masters of them; and enjoying, alone, all the fruits of their service; that it was for this purpose they had engaged the king and the council of the Indies to publish those edicts, upon which they built so much, and of which they would soon avail themselves to amass treasures to the prejudice of the rest of his majesty's subjects. The most moderate said, that it was, perhaps, doing injustice to the private Fathers of the company to blame them on the occasion, as it was probable they only acted by orders from their superior, whose turbulent and restless spirit had, all on a sudden, banished that happy union and tranquility they enjoyed before his arrival amongst them.

It was in vain for the Fathers to answer, that, before any of them had appeared in this province, the Emperor Charles V. and Philip II. his successor to the throne of Spain, had issued very severe edicts to secure the liberty of the Indians; that they might remember, that, before Father Torrez entered Chili, Don Juan Perez, bishop of that diocese, had condemned, what they now deemed

deemed it a crime in that Father not to approve; and that Don Juan had not given ſentence in an affair of ſo much importance, till he had conſulted all the men of learning and ſenſe in that kingdom; that, after all, it was well known, that not one of them had given the leaſt room to ſuſpect they thought otherwiſe than their provincial, in regard to the point in diſpute.

THE minds of the inhabitants were too imbittered to yield to theſe reaſons, though he could not anſwer them by any ſolid arguments; and what is ſtill more ſurprizing, they found means to prejudice the biſhop and all his clergy againſt thoſe who advanced them. As no one, therefore, any longer took their defence, they were treated here, as their brethren had been before treated at Corduba; their church was deſerted; their penſions ſtopt; and the Indians hindered from ſeeing them. In ſhort, they were puſhed to ſuch lenghts, that they, at laſt, thought proper to withdraw themſelves, and ſet out for St. Michael, as the inhabitants of that town had moſt earneſtly entreated them to accept an eſtabliſhment among them.

THERE had been, for a long time paſt, a diſpute for pre-eminence between this town and that of Santiago, which was founded but three years after the firſt foundation of St. Michael; for this laſt, as we have already ſeen, had changed its ſituation, in 1564. This tranſlation had ſcarce taken place, when a powerful Cacique, called Gualan, having forced his way into the new town, maſſacred a great number of the inhabitants; ſet fire to the houſes; and would have reduced them all to aſhes, had not a ſudden ſtorm of lightening frightened the barbarians from their purpoſe. Some Spaniards who eſcaped deſtruction; after extinguiſhing the flames, purſued the Indians; killed their chief; and

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made a great ſlaughter of the reſt. This did not prevent the Calchaquis from making, afterwards, ſeveral attempts to ruin St. Michael; but all equally miſcarried.

St. Michael, I ſaid, ſtands exactly at the foot of the Cordilliere; I muſt add, that it is ſcarce poſſible to find a town ſituated in a more fertile or agreeable country. Accordingly, its plains, and all its vallies; in a word, all its diſtrict is covered with villas and farm houſes, with orchards and gardens, that produce moſt of the fruits known in the old and knew world. But this land of promiſe, as the Spaniards call it, was, for a long time, ſo terribly infeſted with tigers, that it was almoſt impoſſible, for a man not very well armed, to appear abroad, without falling a prey to theſe ravenous animals long accuſtomed to live upon human fleſh.

Before the arrival of the Spaniards, all the employment of the Indians conſiſted in hunting them; which they did in the following ſimple manner. The huntſman, taking a long ſtick, and holding it with both ends, preſented it, in a horizontal direction to the firſt animal he met with, who never failed to ſeize it with his mouth. But, while the creature thus endeavoured to wreſt it, or break it with his teeth and claws, the huntſman, by alternate jerks to the right and left, threw him down; and then, before he could recover himſelf, plunged a knife into his belly, and ript him up to the throat. This, it is plain, required no ſmall degree of dexterity and preſence of mind; and, accordingly, no man was eſteemed among theſe Indians but in proportion to the number of tigers he had killed; and this ambition to ſignalize themſelves, blinded them in regard to the dangers attending ſo uncommon a manner of hunting.

The inhabitants of St. Michael resembled greatly the happy climate under which they lived, being mild, and, as it were, pious by nature. They received the jesuits with an affection, which they have transmitted to their posterity; obliged them to accept of a college, of which the king afterwards approved the foundation; and listened to their exhortations with the greatest docility. This gave the fathers leisure enough to make some incursions among the Diaguites, the Lulles, and the Calchaquis; but, notwithstanding the good dispositions, in which they found great numbers of these Indians, they proved equally useless to them and to the Spaniards; many of the latter having, in spite of all the governor's endeavours to prevent it, carried off several of the Indians into slavery; even from under the eyes of the fathers, about whom they had gathered for instruction.

1609. During these transactions in Tucuman, father Torrez, provincial of the jesuits, set out for the Conception; but the inhabitants of that place were so prejudiced against him and his brethren, that the governor of the province was obliged to interpose in order to procure him admittance. He soon, however, gained, by his behaviour, the esteem and confidence even of those, who had most violently opposed his entrance; and after making the proper use of these favourable dispositions, set out for the Assumption, in consequence of some pressing letters from the bishop of Paraguay and Don Fernand Arias de Saavedra, governor of that province; and arrived there towards the close of the year 1609.

The governor and bishop, it seems, had just received a letter from his catholic majesty, by which that prince gave them to understand, that it was his absolute pleasure that no attempt should be made to subdue the Indians of Paraguay, but

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by the ſword of the word; unleſs they firſt, without any provocation, committed hoſtilities againſt the Spaniards; that, otherwiſe, none but miſſionaries ſhould be employed to reduce them, as they, alone, could make them ſubmit willingly to the Spaniſh yoke, by making them ſenſible of the advantages that would attend ſuch ſubmiſſion; that he did not want any forced homages; that he did not even mean to deprive theſe people of their liberty; but merely to reſcue them from the ſavageneſs and libertiniſm in which they lived; make them acquainted with the true God; and engage them to adore him; that he was very ready to admit them among the number of his ſubjects, but with no other view than that of making them happy; and that he, above all things, forbid the Spaniards to make ſlaves of them.

In conſequence of theſe orders, the prelate and the governor had agreed to engage Father Torrez to take upon him the converſion of the natives; and it was in order to concert with him the propereſt meaſures for effecting it, that they had requeſted him to loſe no time in repairing to the Aſſumption. Four or five years before this, Don Fernand had received from his majeſty a letter pretty much in the ſame ſtrain, but merely relating to the Guaranis, to whom this prince gave him orders to ſend immediately ſome pious, ſenſible, and zealous miſſionaries to compleat their inſtruction; with leave to take from his treaſury all the ſums requiſite to ſupport ſuch miſſionaries, and to enable them to make a ſolid eſtabliſhment among theſe Indians, whom he, above all things, enjoined him to ſee treated in the mildeſt manner.

The governor thought it his duty to begin by the Guaranis neareſt to the Aſſumption, among whom there were already ſeveral chriſtians; and,

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therefore, engaged father Lewis de Bolanos, the most illustrious disciple of St. Francis Solano, to take on himself the execution of his majesty's intentions, with some other religious of his order. These missionaries, accordingly, had already brought together a great number of the Assumption Guaranis, and had formed of them a very flourishing church. It was at this time father de Bolanos composed the cathechism, we have already mentioned. Don Martin Ignatius de Loyola, after causing it to be examined by the ablest divines, and the persons best versed in the Guarani language, of his whole diocese, approved it in a synod. Don Christopher Aresti, his successor, caused it to be again examined; and not only approved it after this second scrutiny, but forbid the use of any other catechism in the Guarani language.

There is great reason to believe, that it was after the departure of father Bolanos for Peru, when his superiors had recalled him on account of his great age and infirmities, that the governor and bishop of Paraguay cast their eyes upon the jesuits to take charge of the Guaranis near the Assumption, and unite them with the Indians of the same name, whom father de Ortega and father Filds had converted in the province of Guayra. It is likewise probable, that father de Torrez, on his arrival at the Assumption, appointed to this mission father Joseph Cataldino, and father Simon Macerata, another Italian Jesuit; but these fathers did not undertake it, till the bishop and governor had given them full power to form all their christians into towns; to govern them without any dependence on the cities, fortresses, or other Spanish establishments, in whose neighbourhood they might settle; build churches in all of them; and oppose, in the king's name, all those who should,

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on any pretence whatſoever, endeavour to ſubject theſe new chriſtians to any perſonal ſervice.

When father Cataldino and father Macerata arrived in Guayra, they found but two prieſts in the whole province; one at Villarica, and the other at Ciudad Real; both too ignorant and irregular to be of any ſervice to either Spaniards or Indians. Accordingly, many of the Indians, who ſtill retained their freedom, were baptized without inſtruction; and many, of thoſe, whom the Spaniards had brought to yield them perſonal ſervice, left without any baptiſm at all, though their maſters never failed to give them all, without diſtinction, the names of ſaints; an abuſe, which, in proceſs of time, greatly perplexed the miſſionaries, well acquainted with their duty, and truly ſolicitous to comply with it.

After ſome ſtay in theſe two places, in order to give the inhabitants that ſpiritual aſſiſtance which they had ſo long wanted, the two fathers prepared to purſue their deſign of ſettling in the center of the Guaranis, upon the Paranapane. But, before they could ſet out, a report happening to ſpread, that there was an order from the king not to give in command the *Indians they* were going to take charge of, the ſentiments of eſteem and confidence, of which the Spaniards had ſo lately given them the greateſt proofs, immediately vaniſhed. Upon this, the miſſionaries, thinking it beſt to clear up the affair, produced the orders they had received in writing, and the powers given them by the biſhop and governor; and, at the ſame time, undertook to make them ſenſible, how conformable theſe orders and powers were to the ſtricteſt equity and juſtice.

1610. "We do not mean, ſaid they, to oppoſe thoſe advantages you may draw from the Indians in a lawful manner; but you know it

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never was the king's intention that you should consider them as slaves; and that, besides, the law of God strictly forbids it. As to those we are commissioned to gain over to Jesus Christ, and upon whom you can have no claim, since they were never conquered by force of arms, our design is; first, to labour to make them men, that we may be the better able to make them christians. We shall then endeavour to induce them, from a view to their own interest, to submit chearfully to the king our sovereign; and hope, with God's blessing, our endeavours will be crowned with success. We do not think it lawful to make any attempt upon their liberties, to which they have a natural and incontestible right; but we will endeavour to make them sensible, that they render their freedom prejudicial to themselves by making a bad use of it; and to teach them to restrain it within just bounds. We flatter ourselves with being able to make them discover such great advantages in that dependance, in which all civilized nations live, and in yielding obedience to a prince, who only desires to be their protector, and their father, and procure them the inestimable blessing of knowing the true God, that they will submit to the yoke with joy, and bless the day they became his subjects."

THEY, in the next place, undertook to persuade the inhabitants, that, if they understood their own interest, instead of opposing this project, they would exert themselves to make it succeed, since it was the only way to prevent the total depopulation of a country, in which it was impossible for them to subsist, without the assistance of the natives to cultivate it. They asked them, what was become of those thousands of Indians, who had disappeared since the first discovery of Paraguay; and what other cause would be assigned for so great a depopulation, but the inhuman manner, in which these poor people had been treated.

But

But they soon discovered, that they were speaking to men, who did not chuse to be undeceived; and, therefore, no longer thought of any thing but the means of hastening their departure. And, as they could expect no guides from the inhabitants of Villarica, where they met with all this opposition, they applied for some to the Cacique of the place where they intended to make their first establishment.

The honest Cacique came himself to conduct them; but how great must have been his surprize, when, on his first appearance in the town, the Spaniards loaded him with irons, and threw him into prison! He did not, however, remain there long, as the two missionaries threatened to complain, of so scandalous a breach of hospitality and common justice, to the governor and the bishop, and even his majesty, if they could not otherwise obtain redress. They then set out with their guide, and, after travelling by land as far as the Paranapane, embarked on the river. Paranapane, in the language of the country, signifies *River of Misfortune*; but we are not told how it came to be called so. This river issues from the mountains of Brazil, and is reinforced by the waters of several others, of which the most considerable are the *Pirape* and *Tabaxiva*. Its banks are covered with a great variety of trees, especially cedars of such an enormous thickness, and so stupendous a height, that one single trunk may be converted into a twenty oar pirogue.

The two fathers remounted the Paranapane to the mouth of the Pirape, where they met two hundred Guarani families baptized by the Fathers de Ortega and Filds, whom they formed into a town, by the name of the *Loretto*. These Indian churches have been since called *Reductions*, a name usually given in Peru to all the christian towns formed among the infidels, and governed by regular

prieſts; and this name is ſtill in uſe. Loretto was the firſt in Paraguay to which it was given. As to the name of Loretto in particular, none could be more ſuitable to a town, which has proved the cradle of the now ſo flouriſhing chriſtian republic of the Guaranis. The fathers then made a progreſs of eighty leagues, in which they found twenty-three little villages, where there were already ſeveral chriſtians, and where the reputation the jeſuits had acquired, of being very zealous to defend the liberty of the Indians, in a ſhort time diſpoſed all the reſt of the inhabitants to receive the goſpel. The ſervants of God repreſented to them, how much it was their intereſt to unite together, as, while they continued ſcattered up and down the country in ſo many little ſtraggling villages, it would be impoſſible for them to defend their freedom, or get inſtruction.

These repreſentations began to work upon the minds of the Indians, when the fathers ſaw all their expectations on the point of being blaſted by the avarice of a falſe brother. An inhabitant of Ciudad Real having offered to accompany them in this expedition, they chearfully accepted his offer, as they were not as yet thorough maſters of the Guarani language, which he underſtood and ſpoke perfectly well. But he had his own views in ſo doing; and, the better to ſucceed in them, affected, in the beginning, the greateſt diſintereſtedneſs. The fathers, however, could not help being ſurprized at his never returning to their common cabin without wanting ſome article or another of his little baggage, and even, of his clothes; but they kept their minds to themſelves, till one day, on his returning with nothing on but a pair of drawers, they could no longer refrain from aſking him how he came to be ſtript in that manner; when he made the following anſwer, "You preach one way, fathers;

thers; and I, another. You have the gift of eloquence, with which God has not been pleased to favour me; but I endeavour to supply the want of it by my works. I have distributed every thing I brought with me among the principal Indians of the country, from a persuasion, that, when I shall have gained the heads by my liberality, it will be the easier for you to gain the rest; and I believe the work is already in great forwardness."

The fathers made no doubt of his having, in good earnest, made away with his clothes for that charitable purpose; and began to be somewhat concerned, that their poverty disabled them from following his example. Some time after this, the Spaniard told them, that, as he was no longer necessary to them, seeing they could explain themselves in the language of the country well enough to be understood without an interpreter, he begged they would not be offended at his leaving them to return home. They answered, that he was at liberty to do as he thought proper; and gave him a great many thanks for his good offices; but he had scarce turned his back, when they discovered, that he had parted with nothing but to buy women and children, and was about carrying them away as slaves; and that the Indians suspected them of having had a share, underhand, in this infamous commerce. It cost them no small time and trouble to remove the suspicions of these poor people. But they at last did it so effectually, that most of them repaired to Loretto.

The accession of such numbers having rendered this town rather too populous, a Cacique, called *Atycaya*, made a proposal to the inhabitants of forming another, a league and a half further up the country; and they all chearfully consented to it. This second reduction was called *Saint Ignatius*. It was soon found necessary to form two more, for the

the reception of proſelytes; and they peopled ſo faſt, that the two Jeſuits immediately formed the project of a chriſtian republic, which might, in the heart of this barbarous country, revive the happieſt days of primitive chriſtianity.

Those, who firſt conceived the idea of this important undertaking, and thoſe who firſt approved their views, thought it highly improper to ſet about ſo arduous a taſk, till they had made all thoſe, on whom they depended, equally ſenſible, how neceſſary it was in order to eſtabliſh chriſtianity upon a ſolid foundation among theſe people; and, likewiſe, what great advantages might reaſonably be expected from this method. They, therefore, repreſented to his catholic majeſty, in his council of the Indies; and to the governor and biſhop of Paraguay, that the Jeſuits, having taken great pains, ſince their arrival in the country, to find out what had retarded the progreſs of the goſpel among ſo many nations, and why there even remained ſuch ſlight traces of the great converſions formerly made among them, imagined they had diſcovered two principal cauſes of ſo deplorable a misfortune; the firſt, that the Spaniards rendered the chriſtian religion odious to the natives of the country, by the manner in which they behaved, even towards thoſe who had ſincerely embraced it; the ſecond, that while the miniſters of the goſpel were endeavouring to convince the infidels of its holineſs, ſeveral of thoſe who openly profeſſed it, ſo far from following its maxims, diſhonoured it by a licentious life, and diſcredited it by the moſt crying acts of injuſtice; whence they concluded, that, before they undertook to convert theſe Indians to the faith, it was abſolutely neceſſary to authorize them to ſecure all thoſe they were ſent to, from the tyranny and bad example of the old chriſtians.

But,

But, as the first suspicions, the Spaniards conceived of this design of the missionaries, had exasperated a great number of them against these fathers, though they solemnly declared, that they had no Indians in view, but such as had not been yet reduced; or such as had entirely thrown off the yoke, and the Spaniards could have no hopes of putting it on again; they were obliged to add, that they would take upon them to engage all the Indians, that should submit to their conduct, to acknowledge his catholic majesty for their sovereign, and swear the most unlimited obedience to him, as a much more solid and equitable manner of making conquests than that of arms; and, at the same time, much more beneficial, since the old subjects could not be either lessened or impoverished by it.

Philip III. approved the proposal, and authorized it by rescripts, which all his successors have confirmed. But it was easy to foresee, that such a privilege would inevitably subject the missionaries who had obtained it, to many contradictions from those, with whose avarice it interfered; so that, how great soever their courage must have been so readily to expose themselves to hunger, thirst, and fatigue, and even the most cruel death; and all merely with a view of civilizing and converting the most cruel and stupid savages; it must have been still greater, to bear the severest persecutions and the most atrocious calumnies, even from the domestics of the faith and their countrymen; and, what was worse, the risk of seeing, as it has often happened, the labours of several years destroyed, perhaps in a few hours; and yet be always ready to begin again with redoubled ardour.

As soon as the two missionaries had established tolerable order in the four reductions I just now mentioned, by regulations suited to the capacity of the

the inhabitants, they began to find it neceſſary to take ſome meaſures for enabling the new chriſtians to engage, with equal arms, a neſt of deſperadoes, who were no leſs the enemies of the Spaniards; and the meaſures they took ſucceeded ſo well, that, for more than an age paſt, inſtead of being attacked themſelves, they have always been in the hands of their fellow-ſubjects the Spaniards, the ſecureſt barrier againſt their enemies; and in thoſe of their common ſovereign, a moſt faithful militia to keep within bounds his other ſubjects; and all at the firſt notice without receiving any conſideration from either. But, we may very well imagine, that ſo fine an eſtabliſhment could attain, only by degrees, that point of perfection, at which I am now going to repreſent it, on the faith of the moſt authentic teſtimonies. *

It is an error (not committed, however, by any of thoſe, who have examined with their own eyes what paſſes in this chriſtian republic, and who are moſt concerned not to ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon) that the Jeſuits are ſo much the maſters there, that the Neophytes acknowledge no authority but theirs. The countenance this error has met with, almoſt every where, and ſtill meets with among a certain claſs of people, can only be attributed to the reſentment of ſome private perſons, on not being able to obtain, that theſe chriſtians ſhould be given in command, like all the other new chriſtians of Paraguay. The truth is, that the kings of Spain have not only always had as much authority in all the reductions, as in any other part of their empire in America, but that they

* Doctor Francis Xarque, in his eighth book. M. Muratori, in his *Chriſtianiſimo felice*. Don Antonio Ulloa in his voyage to South America. The decree of Philip V. dated the 28th of December, 1743; and the letters of ſeveral biſhops and governors, who viſited them.

they no where have more dutiful subjects, or subjects who more punctually execute their orders, than the Indians who compose them.

THEIR submission is even so much the less to be suspected, as it is quite voluntary, and founded entirely on principles of religion, and such a regard to their own welfare as was never judged to clash with it. Their missionaries, in proportion as they formed them into towns, after drawing them from their woods and mountains, and made them open their eyes to the light of the gospel, never failed to invite them to declare themselves subjects, or vassals, as the catholic kings express it in their rescripts, of the crown of Spain, by shewing them that it was their duty in gratitude so to do, and the only sure method of securing their liberty, and those new blessings with which they began to be acquainted. I need not observe, that, to obtain this point from barbarians accustomed not to acknowledge any authority upon earth, not even that of their Caciques, but just as far as it suited their own humour, it was necessary to dispose them by degrees, for such a sacrifice; and that their acquiescence, after all, must have been in a great measure the fruit of that love and confidence, their fathers in Jesus Christ found means to acquire among them, by sacrificing themselves on every occasion to defend their interests.

THE war which these Indians, in a short time after their conversion, had to support against the Portuguese of Brazil, obliged their pastors to proceed a step further. The impossibility, in which these fathers saw them, to hold out against so powerful an enemy, authorized them to suggest to their converts, that, in order to make it the interest of the king of Spain to spare nothing to protect them, it was requisite, that, instead of confining themselves to a simple declaration of vassallage,

ſallage, they ſhould take an oath of unlimited obedience to him, which they need not fear his majeſty would ever abuſe to oppreſs them, ſince he had declared; that he intended to conſider them leſs as his vaſſals, than as his children; and they cheerfully conſented to the propoſal. As long, however, as the war laſted, it was not conſiſtent with policy or juſtice, conſidering their great poverty, and the extremities to which they were often reduced, to ſpeak to them of any tribute; and, accordingly, none was mentioned to them till the year 1649, when Philip IV. having honoured them with the title of his moſt faithful vaſſals, and added to this favour the greateſt marks of confidence, by declaring them the barrier of Paraguay againſt Brazil, lately detached from the crown of Spain in conſequence of the revolution of Portugal; and againſt the Indian nations, enemies to the Spaniards. Then, indeed, his majeſty, after renewing the privilege which exempted them from every ſervice but his own, and from the tribute paid by the other Indians, required, that, for the future, the men from eighteen to fifty, and they only, ſhould pay a crown a head *. It was the Count of Salvatierra, viceroy of Peru, that regulated this tribute by his majeſty's orders. After all, we are not judge of their loyalty and publick ſpirit by this tribute. The ſervices which they have been ſince conſtantly rendering, and of which we ſhall often have occaſion to ſpeak in the courſe of this hiſtory, and thoſe they ſtill continue to render, to their ſovereign and his Spaniſh ſubjects, without receiving any pay, conſideration, or even ſubſiſtence, are ſuch, as when juſtly eſtimated, greatly exceed the tribute exacted from any other vaſſals of the Spaniſh dominions.

* *Un peſo de ocho reales.*

ALL

ALL these regulations were again confirmed, in 1663, by a decree of the same prince Philip IV. who ordered, that the pensions allowed out of the royal treasury, for the support of a missionary in each reduction, should be paid out of this tribute; for, when there are two in a reduction, which is often the case, and almost always necessary, the second is supported by his brethren of the province, as are likewise the two general superiors of the missionaries, one of whom resides in the reductions of the Parana, and the other in those of the Uruguay. In 1711, Philip V. before whom there had been laid a long memorial, in which the smallness of this tribute, compared with that of the other Indians, being five crowns a head, was greatly insisted upon, forbid, notwithstanding, any alteration to be made in the regulations already established. Nay, his majesty, on being told by some busy courtier, that this slight tribute was not exactly paid, knowing the insinuation to be false, not only recommended, in the strongest terms, the Indians of the reductions to Don Bruno Maurice de Zavala, whom he, in the year 1616, appointed governor of Rio de la Plata, but charged him to give them his royal word, that he would never require any greater acknowledgment from them.

IN two decrees of Philip IV. dated in 1650 and 1653, the reductions, we are speaking of, are declared *Doctrines*. This is a name given, in Spanish America, to the cures or parishes, according to the strict meaning of that word; and the royal audience of Charcas is likewise ordered to cause to be observed in these doctrines the right of royal patronage. This right, however, did not take place in them, till the year 1654, when there issued a third decree, by which his majesty declared, that, for the future, these very reductions should be on the

the ſame footing with the other doctrines; that the provincial of the Jeſuits, or, in his abſence, the ſuperior of the miſſions, each in his reſpective department, ſhould preſent, at the departure or death of any miſſionary, three Jeſuits to the governor of the province, who, in quality of vice-patron, was to chuſe one of them; and that, if the Jeſuits ſhould refuſe to ſubmit to this regulation, then the governor, in conjunction with the biſhop of the dioceſe, might name to theſe cures other ſecular or regular prieſts.

But I muſt obſerve, that this regulation was made in the moſt critical circumſtances, that the jeſuits ever found themſelves in ſince their firſt eſtabliſhment in Paraguay. All Spain, and even all Europe, ſwarmed with the moſt ſhocking memorials againſt theſe miſſionaries, which were diſperſed by the partizans of Don Bernardin de Cardenas, biſhop of the Aſſumption; and one of the charges, which this prelate and his ſolicitor at the court of Spain brought againſt them, with the greateſt confidence, was, that, in their new reductions, they, to the utmoſt of their power, defrauded the king's revenue. This accuſation the jeſuits anſwered in a very ſatisfactory manner, as ſoon as the general terms, in which it was conceived, would admit. Beſides, the nobleman, who then preſided in the council of the Indies, happened to be their enemy; and it was this circumſtance, more than any other, that gave occaſion to the three decrees, now mentioned.

In the two firſt of theſe pieces, which were addreſſed to the royal audience of Charcas, the king left the provincial of the jeſuits at liberty to change the pariſh prieſts, as often as he thought proper, without being ſo much as obliged to give his reaſons for ſo doing; but on the ſame condition of propoſing to the governor three other jeſuits to replace

place him; and the royal audience having communicated these orders to the governor of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata, in which the Reductions are situated, these officers gave notice of it to the provincial of the jesuits, who chearfully submitted to his majesty's pleasure.

Those, who had brought upon the jesuits these marks of his majesty's diffidence, little expected they would so readily and respectfully submit to them; for they were meant as a snare to surprize the loyalty of these fathers, who were too wise to give in to it. They knew full well, and we shall see manifold proofs of it in the course of this history, that had they answered by saying, as they might without exposing themselves to be contradicted, that it was against their institute to possess lay-cures, their Reductions would have been speedily deserted; they did not even make any representations on the occasion; but their prompt submission had a greater effect, than could be expected from the strongest. They are not wanting in any thing they owe to the governors of the provinces and bishops of the dioceses, in which they have any Indians under their care, "but as among the three persons, (says Don Antonio de Ulloa, in his voyage to South America, Vol. ii. B. i. Chap. 15.) recommended on such occasions to the governor, there will of consequence be one, whose virtues and talents render him most fit for the office; and, as no better judges of this can be supposed, than the provincials of the order, the governor and bishop have receded from their undoubted rights; and the provincials always collate and prefer those whose merits are most conspicuous." It is not, therefore, surprizing, if we find the word *Reduction* as often used, as that of doctrine, in the last schedules and rescripts of the kings of Spain.

I HAVE already insinuated, that there are generally two jesuits in every town. The second is almost always a missionary newly arrived from Europe, or a young priest, who has just finished his studies in the university of Corduba. He, at once, acts as vicar under the parish priest, and learns to speak the Indian language. It is even sometimes found requisite to have a third priest; as, for example, when any epidemical sickness rages in a town; a thing that often happens, and without which this republick would be twice more populous. On these occasions, the Reductions are no better than large hospitals; and two priests would never be able to visit the sick, administer the sacraments to them, and bury the dead. But, whatever the number of priests may be, there reigns among them the most perfect subordination. The parish priest is constantly the superior; and, as he has always about him six children destined for the service of the church, his house looks like a little convent, where every thing is done by sound of bell. Himself, though established in the king's name, depends, in all things, on the superior of the mission, who is constantly employed in visiting the parishes under his care; and on his provincial, whose visits are likewise regular, so that Don Antonio de Ulloa has not said too much, in representing all these missionaries as composing one single and well regulated family.

THE fathers, on their side, repay these testimonies of esteem and affection by a perpetual flow of more than paternal tenderness. "The most laborious part, (says Don Antonio de Ulloa,) of the duty belonging to the priests, is to visit, personally, the chacaras or plantations of the Indians; and in this they are remarkably sedulous, in order to prevent the ill consequences of that slothful disposition so natural to the Guaranis, who, were they not frequently

frequently roused and stimulated by the presence of the priest, would abandon their work, or, at least, perform it in a very superficial manner. He also attends at the publick slaughter-house, where, every day, they kill some of the cattle; large herds of which are kept for the public use by the Indians. The flesh of these beasts is dealt out by the priests, proportionable to the number of persons each family consists of, so that every one has a sufficiency to supply the calls of nature, but nothing for waste. He also visits the sick, to see that they want for nothing, and are attended with that care and tenderness their condition requires. These charitable employments take up so great a part of the day, as often to leave him no time for assisting the father coadjutor in the services of the church."

The number of reductions is, at present, thirty, of which the thirteen, nearest to the Parana are within the diocese of the Assumption. They were within the government of Paraguay, till the year 1726, when, for reasons I shall mention hereafter, Philip V. directed provisionally and till further orders, that they should be under the jurisdiction of the governor of Rio de la Plata. Some time after this, the governors not only gave the Neophytes some unneasiness in regard to their tribute; but strenuously solicited the king to increase it. But his majesty, far from complying with their representations, issued a decree dated the 28th of December 1743, to forbid any addition to be made to it. He even declared, that he forgave the Neophytes the sums they might then happen to owe his treasury; and gave orders to inform them, that it was to acknowledge their loyalty, and their important services, he granted them this indulgence.

These services, which we shall likewise speak of, as occasion offers, added to what the Spaniards

are often expoſed to ſuffer from the unconquered or revolted Indians, are a proof, which, from day to day, becomes more glaring, that it was the intereſt of all the Europeans to treat the people of America in the ſame manner, in which the jeſuits of Paraguay have treated them, though they have been often charged with it, and even perſecuted for it, as a capital crime. But what proves ſtill better, the inveteracy with which their deſigns have been traverſed, is, that while the Indians, under other religious and ſome ſecular prieſts, were exempt from paying tythes to their biſhops, the jeſuits alone were attacked on that ſcore. An edict was even obtained, in 1694, by which they were ordered to pay them. But the chapter of the Aſſumption, having repreſented to the council, that no tythes had ever been required from the other Indians, though better able to pay them, the council voted, that it would be, perhaps, dangerous to inſiſt upon their compliance. In proceſs of time, however, ſome perſons were for having Don Joſeph Paralta, biſhop of Buenos Ayres, exact the tithes of the ſeventeen reductions within his dioceſe; but this prelate very prudently anſwered, that it was impoſſible for him to think of loading them with any ſuch burden, as long as he had ocular demonſtration of their being no way able to ſupport it.

It is not to be doubted, but that the interior government of the reductions depends chiefly upon the miſſionaries. The limited underſtanding of their Neophytes requires, that they ſhould enter into all their affairs, and direct them in their temporal as well as in their ſpiritual concerns. Every town, however, has the ſame officers of juſtice and of police with the ſpaniſh towns; a corregidor, regidors, and alcades, all choſen by the Indians themſelves with the aſſiſtance of their miſſionaries; but afterwards confirmed by the

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supreme governor of the province. As, however, there is no laying any great stress on the capacity of these officers, they are not permitted to decide any thing of importance, and much less inflict any punishment, without the approbation of their pastors. The punishments, after all, consist in nothing but prayers, fasting, confinement, and sometimes whipping; these Neophytes committing no faults that deserve any severer animadversion. Before confinement, care is taken to make them sensible of their faults in the mildest manner; a task no way difficult, considering the goodness of their disposition. Accordingly, not one of them has ever been known to prove refractory under it, or express the least resentment against his judges. "Indeed the love and veneration, says Don Antonio Ulloa, the Indians pay their pastors, are so great, that could they be guilty of enjoining an unjust punishment, the suffering party would impute it to his own demerits, being firmly persuaded that the priests never do any thing without a sufficient reason." To conclude, there is in every town a Cacique, who is, as it were, the governor in chief; but he attends to little, but military affairs. He is, however, exempt from tribute, as is likewise his eldest son.

It has been judged requisite to use the greatest precautions, to hinder these new christians from having any correspondence with the Spaniards; so that no Spaniards are permitted to enter their towns, but such as wait on the bishop and governor. The necessity of this precaution, besides being proved by experience, must appear to any one who has the least opportunity of considering the wide difference between these Neophytes, and those in whose favour it has not been observed. The missionary fathers will not now allow, says Don Antonio de Ulloa, any of the inhabitants of Peru to

converse with their Indians, the decline of some of the latter, from their primitive happiness and piety being found to proceed entirely from too open an intercourse between them and the latter.

NAY, their pastors have, as yet, in a manner, hindered them from speaking spanish, barely teaching the children, in general, to read and write in that language; and those alone are taught to read and write the latin, who are destined to sing in the churches; but, what ever they are applied to, they take it up in a surprizing manner. To hear them read these languages, one would imagine they understood them perfectly well; and as to writing them, they copy manuscripts in them without a single fault, and in a very fine hand. There is actually a very large one of their copying at Madrid, which would do honour to the best copiers of Europe, both in point of beauty and exactness. The motive which hindered the missionaries from going greater lengths with them, was, that they never left home, on any military expedition, or to carry on the king's works, without a missionary to serve them, not only as chaplain, but likewise as interpreter. Besides, their manners could hardly escape corruption, were they to communicate with the Spaniards. Philip V. however, fearing that this reserve might be interpreted to the disadvantage of the jesuits, ordered, by his decree of the 20th of December 1743, that they should be all taught to speak spanish. But, considering their great reluctance to learn this language, the execution of his majesty's orders will, it is probable, be attended with very great difficulties.

WE have already often observed, that these Indians are, by nature, of a very limited capacity, and understand nothing, but what immediately falls under the senses. This dulness of apprehension appeared to the first missionaries, to fall little short of downright stupidity; and they, accordingly, re-

mained in suspense for some time, whether it was proper to administer to them any sacrament, but that of baptism. But, being too wise to decide for themselves in an affair of so much consequence, they consulted the bishops of Peru assembled in council at Lima; and received for answer, that they should be very cautious how they admitted them to the other sacraments. It soon, however, plainly appeared, that the interior master, who gives understanding, when he pleases, to infants, communicated himself in a sensible manner to these new christians. And, perhaps, there never appeared a more convincing proof, that our holy religion is the only true one; since, at the same time that it implants in the heart the most noble and elevated sentiments, it proportionably opens and improves the understanding.

They succeed, as it were by instinct, in all the arts, to which they are applied; but, then, they have been applied to such only, as were thought requisite to exempt them from the necessity of having recourse to foreign assistance. As yet, they have not discovered any talent for invention; but they were soon observed to possess that of imitation in a sovereign degree. It is enough, for example, to shew them a crucifix, a candlestick, a cencer; and give them materials for making others. They copy them so well, that it is no easy matter to distinguish their work from the pattern. They have been known to make, on bare inspection, the most intricate organs; as also astronomical spheres, turkey carpets, and other most curious manufactures. They engrave upon brass, after giving it a due polish, all the figures traced before them. They have naturally a just air, and an uncommon taste for musick; and touch, as well as make, to admiration, all sorts of musical instruments. Father Cattaneo, whom I have already cited, assures

us, that he has seen a child not more than twelve perform on the harp, with a sure and easy hand, the most difficult anthems of Bologna. They have, besides, a sweet and sonorous pipe, which, according to what I have already said, is attributed to the waters of their rivers. These uncommon talents for music engaged the missionaries to establish choirs in all their churches; experience having shewn that nothing contributes more to inspire them with devotion; give them a strong liking to divine service; and make them more readily comprehend the instructions proper for them, which, for this purpose, have been all set to musick.

THIS natural taste for musick was, likewise, of great service in helping to people the first Reductions. For the jesuits, having observed in their journeys by water, that, as soon as, to recreate themselves in an innocent and holy manner, they began to sing any spiritual canticle, crowds of Indians flocked to the banks, and seemed to take a particular liking to their musick, they improved the opportunity to explain to them the subject of their songs; when, as if the melody had changed their hearts, and rendered them susceptible of the sentiments, with which the fathers longed to inspire them, they easily prevailed on the poor creatures to follow them; and gradually insinuated into their hearts the most elevated sentiments of religion; thus realizing in these savage countries, what fable relates of Amphion and Orpheus.

EVERY Reduction has two schools. In one, the children learn to read and write; in the other, to dance, sing, and play upon all the instruments permitted to be used in divine service, which they do, like the birds, as it were by instinct. Don Antonio de Ulloa says, that some of them are taught latin, and learn it very well; but, I believe, all their knowledge of it consists in reading and pronouncing it correctly. Father Cattaneo was surprized,

at his arrival at Buenos Ayres, to ſee a young Neophyte aſcend the pulpit in the refectory of the college there, in order to read in meal time; but more ſo, to hear him read both the latin and ſpaniſh languages, as well as if he was perfectly well acquainted with both.

THERE are, every where, workſhops for gilders, painters, and ſculptors; gold, ſilver, and other ſmiths; clockmakers, carpenters, joiners, weavers, and founders; in a word, for all the arts and trades, that can be uſeful to them. As ſoon as the children are old enough to begin to work, they are taken to theſe workſhops, and applied to the buſineſs which they expreſs the greateſt liking for, from a perſuaſion, that art is to be guided by nature. Their firſt maſters were lay-brother jeſuits, ſent for, on purpoſe to inſtruct them. Sometimes, the fathers themſelves have been obliged to drive the plow, and handle the ſpade, to initiate them in huſbandry; and engage them, by their example, to cultivate the earth; to ſow and to reap. To conclude, theſe Neophytes have built, after deſigns furniſhed them by the jeſuits, ſuch churches, as would not diſgrace the greateſt cities in Spain or Peru, either in regard to the beauty of their ſtructure, or the richneſs and good taſte of their ſacred veſſels and ornaments of every kind.

THIS is not the caſe with their houſes. For a great many years, nothing could be more mean and ſimple, being built with canes covered with plaiſter; without window or chimney; without ſeats or beds; in a manner without any furniture. The whole family ſat on the floor; and lay in hammocks, which were not to be ſeen in the day time; the ſmoke of the fires, which they made in the center of their cabins, had no iſſue, nor the light of the ſun any entrance, but by the door. At preſent, their houſes are as conve-

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nient, as neat, and as well furniſhed, as thoſe of the common Spaniards. They have even begun* to build them with ſtone and cover them with tile.

The work of the women is regulated as well as that of the men. It conſiſts chiefly in ſpinning. The beginning of every week, every woman receives a certain quantity of wool and cotton, which ſhe muſt return the Saturday night following, ready for the loom. They are, likewiſe, now and then, put to certain country labours, which do not ſurpaſs their ſtrength and capacity.

The trade theſe Indians carry on, to procure what their country does not afford, conſiſts chiefly in wild wax and honey; and the herb of Paraguay, of which they have every where made plantations; the ſale of it being certain, as no one in this country can do without it. I ſaid, that the firſt plants of this vegetable were brought from the canton of Maracayu; where the beſt kind of it grows naturally; but they have degenerated very little in the reductions. This trade is ſufficiently explained in the decree of Philip V. which I have already ſo often cited. Some perſons have cenſured the manner of carrying it on, though every circumſtance of it is authorized by the ſovereign, who plainly ſaw how indiſpenſably neceſſary it was for the preſervation of this republick.

We ſhall ſee, in its place, what reaſons the miſſionaries had for aſking for their Neophytes, and the kings of Spain for granting them, the uſe of fire arms. This privilege was, in fact, abſolutely neceſſary to prevent their falling into the moſt cruel ſlavery; or being diſperſed over the woods and mountains; and that too, without being ſure of eſcaping the hands of their inveterate purſuers. I may even venture to affirm, that the kings of Spain, and their ſpaniſh ſubjects, are thoſe, who

reap, at present, the greatest benefit from this indulgence, though the latter, from principles of self interest, omitted nothing to have it repealed; so that, for many years together, the royal council of the Indies was more taken up with discussions about it, than with any other business relating to the Spanish dominions in America. But the interest of the state, joined to that of religion, prevailed at last. Philip V. thoroughly persuaded, that it is more the interest of the missionaries than of any others, to hinder their Neophytes from abusing this liberty of being constantly well armed, confines himself, in his decree of the 28th of December 1743, to the recommending to the provincial of the jesuits, to deliberate with his brethren on the means of preventing any inconveniencies that might be apprehended from it; ordering him, in case there should appear the least sign of any tendency to an insurrection, to give early notice of it to the council, and let them know what measures it may be proper to take to prevent a surprize. But there is so much the less reason to apprehend any thing like a revolt among the Neophytes, that their happiness and security depend entirely on their loyalty, which nothing but an attempt upon their liberties can impair; and none, certainly, but the enemies of the king, or of the state, can possibly think of making any such attempt.

Several persons imagine, that, in this republick, there is no private property; but that, every week, each family receives the necessary food; and, from time to time, the other necessary articles for their subsistence. Some such regulation might possibly have existed, when those Indians, but newly united, were not in a capacity to procure themselves, by their labours, a certain and regular supply of the necessaries of life; nor well established in places of sufficient security. But

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in process of time, and especially, since they have been no longer exposed to the danger of being obliged to remove from place to place, there has been assigned to every family a piece of land, sufficient, if properly cultivated, to supply it with the necessaries of life; for, as to superfluities, they are, as yet, strangers to them. And, considering their natural disposition, and the manner in which they are brought up, there is all the reason in the world to hope, they will ever continue so. The missionaries, indeed, know the full amount of what their lands produce. It is the same thing in regard to their commerce, which cannot be carried on but under the eyes of those, who are most concerned carefully to inspect it.

All the lands of the country, where the Reductions are situated, are not equally good for the same things. In those, which lie nearest the tropicks, as the environs of the Parana for example, there is plenty of honey, wax, maiz, and cotton; those more to the South yield wool, hemp, and wheat; and abound, besides, in good pastures. The woods and the rivers are every-where well stocked with game. Barter supplies the deficiencies of nature. Gold and silver shines no where but on the altars. But, besides these spots of ground, that have been given in fee to every father of a family, and which are cleared in proportion as the Reductions become more populous, there are some that belong to the community, and the produce of which is deposited in the publick magazines against unforeseen accidents; for the repairs of the churches, and every thing relating to divine worship; for the support of widows, and orphans, the sick and the infirm, those employed in the service of the altar, or commanded to any distance, to serve his majesty in a civil or military capacity; for the maintenance of the Caciques, cor-

regidors,

regidors, and other civil and military officers; for the poor, whatever the cause of their poverty may be; to supply the deficiencies of bad crops, even for other towns; for the Indians, in all their necessities, assist each other to the best of their power. The surplus, if there happens to be any, is added to the goods to be sold for paying the king's tribute, and purchasing such military stores as the king does not supply them with; and, in a word, gold, silver, copper, iron, and steel, for the construction of arms and the decoration of their altars.

The Reductions are pretty large; the streets of them quite strait, and the houses uniform. In the center of every Reduction there is a square, which the church faces, and likewise the arsenal, in which all the arms and ammunition are laid up. Here the Indians exercise every week; for there are, in every town, two companies of militia, whose officers have, according to their respective ranks, very handsome uniforms laced with gold and silver; but they never wear them except when they exercise or take the field. The civil officers have, likewise, proper habits to distinguish them. As to the common dress, it consists, for the men, in a waistcoat and breeches, very like those worn by the Spaniards; and above all a frock of white cloth, which reaches below the knee. This frock, is sometimes, made of a coloured cloth; and is then a mark of distinction allowed only to merit. The women's dress consists in a shift without sleeves, that reaches to the feet, and over it a gown somewhat loose and flowing. But when employed in the fields, they wear nothing but the former. When they carry any burden, they tie it to the two ends of a broad strap, which they pass over the forehead like the women among the savages of Canada. Both men and women go bare-legged, bare-footed and bare-headed. The women's hair serves them for a veil.

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THE missionaries have their houses next to the church. The store-houses, work-shops, and granaries for containing the produce of the common grounds, which are always cultivated at the common expence, stand all upon the same line. In the Reductions situated at a great distance from Spanish towns or navigable rivers, iron and steel are so scarce, that the Indians are often obliged to make their tools of stone, or of wood hardened by fire. Their bell metal they get from Coquimbo, a town of Chili, where they purchase it in exchange for such of their commodities as they can there find a vent for. Not only those who carry on this traffick, but in general all those who go with any goods for sale from the Reductions to the Spanish settlements, are defrayed by, and have likewise their lands cultivated at the expence of the publick. As to the produce of those goods, it is well known; the rates being all fixed, so as to admit of no imposition or dispute.

IN spite of this police, and all the measures taken to prevent any one wanting the necessaries of life, the missionaries find it a very difficult task to make all things answer. This is owing to three failings in their Neophytes, which they have not as yet been able to correct; namely, their little foresight, their laziness, and their want of œconomy, in consequence of which they often come short of seed for their lands. On this occasion there is an absolute necessity for assisting them; but then they are obliged to return, after harvest, a quantity of grain equal to that lent them to procure it. As to other provisions, if the missionaries did not keep a very watchful eye over them, they would, in a little time, not have a morsel to eat. This is likewise owing to so insatiable an appetite, that, a few moments after they have stuffed their bellies, they are ready for a new meal. Nay, the missionaries,

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at first, could not so much as leave to their discretion the bullocks employed in agriculture, lest through laziness they should leave them unyoked, when their work was over; and even tear them to pieces, and devour them, as it has often happened; when their being hungry was all the excuse that could be got out of them.

This has obliged the missionaries to appoint overseers, who visit every place exactly, to see if the Indians mind their business, and keep their cattle in good order; and have a power to punish them, when they find them in fault, which seldom happens at present. Besides, when it does, they readily confess their guilt and submit to the sentence pronounced on them. All their faults are the faults of children; and, indeed, they continue children, in many respects, all their lives; but then it is with all the good qualities peculiar to that age. In spite, however, of all the precautions we have been speaking of, the missionaries often find it necessary to have recourse to other expedients, to enable several families to hold out to the end of the year; no beggary being tolerated in this republick, for fear of introducing theft, and encouraging laziness. The surest method hitherto found out to correct this last failing, is to condemn the delinquent to cultivate the reserved lands, of which we have spoken, and which are called *God's possession or inheritance*; but then, as such workmen are not to be depended upon, care is taken to associate with them others of known diligence. The fathers of families are likewise obliged to send their children there very early, in order to form and inure them to labour. Every child's task is adjusted to his strength; and there is no pardon for those who do not perform it.

One of the greatest advantages derived from this police is, that it keeps every one employed. It

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maintains, besides, not only in every town, but through the whole republick, so perfect an union, that strangers cannot help observing it at first sight. There are no quarrels or law-suits to be seen here; *mine and yours* are unknown words; because, it is, in fact, to have no exclusive property; to be always ready to divide the little one has, with those that want it; and to have one's attention as much, and sometimes even more, taken up with the concerns of others, than one's own. It is thus, the authors of this establishment have made the very failings of these Indians contribute to procure them the greatest blessings of society, and the constant practice of the first of all christian virtues, which is charity. There is but one thing still wanting to compleat their happiness, and that is, an hospital and a good dispensary for medicines, in every town, or at least in every canton; such as are to be met among the *Moxes*, where the jesuits of Peru have formed a republick on the model of that of the Guaranis. But these fathers found resources for this purpose, which are not to be expected in Paraguay, where there are no opulent persons, and the Spaniards, besides, have no great affection for Indians, who depend immediately on the sovereign, and serve only the state..

What contributes still more to maintain among these new christians that surprizing harmony we have mentioned, is the subordination and good understanding that prevails among their spiritual governors. Those, who have hitherto had the immediate conduct of this flock gathered together by their labours, never considered themselves, in any station whatsoever, otherwise, than as the instruments of the bishops in whose diocese they labour; so that every thing published against them on this head has fallen, of itself, to the ground; or has been unanswerably refuted by the most holy

prelates,

prelates, the province of Paraguay, Tucuman, and Buenos Ayres, ever enjoyed. These missionaries never took any steps to enter upon this great work, or bring it to perfection, but with the consent, and by the authority, of their bishops; and never affected any independence in the exercise of their functions. They never used the privileges granted to them by the holy see, but in the same manner, in which other religious most submissive to their bishops, every where use them. They have even been more reserved. For, though the kings of Spain had authorized them to establish Reductions wherever they thought proper, and govern such Reductions under the direction of their superiors, they never made any difficulty to resign their places to any other pastors the bishops were pleased to appoint, though they knew their departure would be followed by the dispersion of their flock, as it has often happened.

The bishops seldom visit the Reductions, especially those of the diocese of Buenos Ayres, because they lie at a great distance from that city. These journeys, besides, are very fatiguing; very dangerous; and attended with greater expence, than these prelates, whose revenues are very scanty, can well afford, though defrayed, in a great measure, by the Indians themselves. It is well known, however, that it is not the fault, either of these Indians, or their missionaries, that these visits are not oftener repeated. On the contrary, they have been several times obliged to apply for them in the most earnest manner, and for a long time together, before they could obtain them. The Indians solicit them, to have the comfort of seeing their bishop, and for fear of being deprived of the sacrament of confirmation; the pastors, because they always increase the fervor in their churches; silence

their detractors; and even procure them, on the testimony of the visiting bishops, fresh marks of his catholic majesty's good will and favour.

As, to arrive at the nearest Reductions within the diocese of Buenos Ayres, it is requisite to remount the Uraguay for some days together; and the navigation is not only troublesome, but dangerous, on account of the great number of barbarians, enemies to the christian name, who often appear upon its banks; and as, besides, there is no resting place to be met with during the whole journey, nor the least conveniency, even that of a bed, to lie upon, the bishop had no sooner given notice of his intentions, than two or three jesuits repaired to Buenos Ayres with a great number of their Indians, to escort him. Other Neophytes received orders, at the same time to make the best of their way to certain posts, from distance to distance, in order to drive away any enemies they may find there; carry refreshments; and relieve each other in conducting the bishop. This last precaution is so much the more requisite, as the missionaries have often been stopt half way, by the sudden breaking out of the small pox, or some other epidemical disorder amongst the Indians.

On the prelate's approach to a Reduction, the news of which is always received by the inhabitants with the greatest demonstrations of joy, two companies of cavalry immediately set out to meet him, and never stop till they have got within sight of the convoy. Then they form; display their colours; and perform, in the best order, all their evolutions. This done, they all alight; come and throw themselves at the prelate's feet; kiss his hand in the most respectful manner; and receive his blessing. About a league from the town, the Cacique, the Corregidor, and all the officers, both civil and military, the superior of the missions, the

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parish priest, and some other jesuits assembled from the neighbouring Reductions, likewise pay their respects to the bishop; fall on their knees to kiss his hand, and ask his blessing. The infantry appears next, drawn up in order of battle, colours flying, drums beating, fifes and clarions sounding; and, after opening to let his lordship pass through them, join again, and bring up the rear, all the while beating to arms, till they have seen their prelate safely arrived.

THE prelate enters the town amidst the repeated acclamations of the inhabitants; and, first, repairs to the church, where, on his arrival at the gates, the organs are immediately put in motion. It is here the women wait his coming; for they are never permitted upon any pretence whatsoever, to mix with the men on such occasions. Though the piety and modesty, painted in their countenances, are all their ornament, the sincere joy they express at their bishop's arrival never fails to draw tears from him and all his attendants. Many prelates have even affirmed, that their tears never dried up during all the time their visitation lasted. The bishop, after giving his blessing to his dear daughters in Jesus Christ, who receive it with joined hands and prostrated on the ground, is conducted to the altar, where he makes a short prayer, and then gives out the *Te Deum*, which is accompanied by the best vocal and instrumental musick. After this, he and his attendants repair to the apartments that have been prepared for them, where they find every conveniency they can wish for; and are served with the greatest neatness and order.

THE time his lordship spends among them is employed in those functions, which are the principal object of his coming; especially that of confirming all those who have not before received that sacrament. But these duties are intermixed with

holy rejoicings, in which the ſtrangers are ſurprized to find more order, good taſte, and even elegance, than are, perhaps, to be ſeen in ſome of the largeſt and beſt governed towns of Europe. Acclamations precede and follow the prelate wherever he goes; and his progreſs may be traced by flowers and odoriferous herbs and triumphal arches loaded with fruits and flowers of every kind. But what ſurprizes him moſt, and what he can never ceaſe thinking of, is the prodigious alteration obſervable in theſe new chriſtians, and of which he is enabled to form a competent judgment by comparing them with the wild Indians he has occaſion to meet, and even with the converted Indians in the ſervice of the Spaniards.

THESE prelates are equally ſurprized to find the children, that are brought to them for confirmation, ſo well inſtructed in regard to the excellence and obligations of this ſacrament, which is always conferred with ſuch pomp and ceremony, as to make it a feſtival, in which all the inhabitants have a ſhare, and which never fails to renew their fervour. The Indians keep the prelate among them as long as they can, and his departure draws from them many tears, with which he cannot refrain from mixing his own. They eſcort him to the next town, in the ſame order, and with the ſame ceremony, they conducted him to their own; and, when he has viſited all the Reductions, he returns to Buenos Ayres with the ſame convoy, with which he ſet out. This picture may ſerve for the viſitations, which the biſhop of the Aſſumption makes in the Reductions ſeated in the neighbourhood of the Parana.

THE governor of the province, the commiſſaries and viſitors ſent by the kings of Spain to inſpect the ſtate of the Reductions, are received in a more military manner, but with the

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ſame zeal, and always with marks of the profoundeſt ſubmiſſion. The provincial of the jeſuits, when he makes his firſt viſit, is received with demonſtrations of affection and reſpect, which, however great they may be, evidently fall ſhort of what theſe good people would have them, though a great deal more flattering for this father of their fathers, than all the honours they could render him, did his modeſty permit him to receive any. If any of theſe Neophytes happen to be at Buenos Ayres, when new miſſionaries arrive there from Europe (and when they have timely notice of their being expected, they always flock there in great numbers to receive them) there is nothing they don't put in practice to expreſs their joy. It is but one perpetual holiday in the city as long as the fathers continue in it; and the Indians never fail to vary their rejoicings by a few ſhews, with which ſome foreigners, proteſtants eſpecially, have taken a great deal of pains to embelliſh, their relation, at the expence of the jeſuits.

BUT theſe travellers, and moſt of thoſe who look for amuſement in their memoirs, don't ſufficiently attend to the ſpirit; in which all theſe things are done; nor conſider, as they ought to do, that the difference and variety of the ſeveral climates is attended with a great deal in the way of thinking and acting of thoſe who live under them; that beſides a great many things ought to be overlooked in men but newly civilized and converted, who think they can never do enough to expreſs their affection and gratitude towards thoſe, who reſcued them from ſavageneſs and idolatry; and who, at the expence of immenſe labours, and in ſpite of the moſt cruel perſecutions, have procured them all the bleſſings they enjoy, that of liberty in particular, of whoſe value, as well as that of all other bleſſings, they muſt be

ſo much the more ſenſible, as they have conſtantly before their eyes other Indians their countrymen, groaning under the moſt cruel ſlavery, or living ſtrangers to all the comforts of a civil and religious life; and theſe obſervations are handed down from generation to generation; the parents never failing to relate them to their children. What wonder then, that the remembrance of ſo many and ſuch great bleſſings, ſhould inſpire them with a boundleſs affection for the miſſionaries; and, that in expreſſing it, they ſhould give way a little to their natural genius and diſpoſition.

It has been thought proper, conſidering the natural levity and inconſtancy of the Indians, and the great difficulty there is often found in rooting out of the hearts of thoſe newly converted certain groſs vices, in a manner grown natural to them, to eſtabliſh in the Reductions the practice of publick penances, much upon the ſame footing it prevailed in the primitive ages of chriſtianity. For this purpoſe, the miſſionaries appoint ſome of the moſt virtuous to inſpect the conduct of the reſt. Theſe inſpectors, as ſoon as they have ſurprized any one in a fact capable of giving ſcandal, put on him the penitential habit; conduct him to the church, where they oblige him to make a publick confeſſion of his crime; and then carry him to the ſquare to be whipped. The criminals always receive this correction not only without murmuring, but with thanks; and ſcarce ever relapſe. Nay the men often, and the women ſometimes, are ſeen to confeſs, in the moſt publick manner, faults of this kind, though committed in private; and apply for penance. But a great deal of diſcretion is obſerved on theſe occaſions; and it is with great difficulty the miſſionaries permit any of them, the women eſpecially, to make ſuch publick confeſſions, when they wait to aſk leave for that purpoſe.

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THOSE devout and pious exercises, which are most approved, and the church besides has most authorized, are likewise so many means successfully employed to maintain the spirit of religion, and even increase it in the hearts of these new christians. It is a rule not to admit to the communion of the body and blood of Jesus Christ those born of infidel parents, till after a long and severe tryal; and they have given sufficient proofs of their discerning, as the apostle directs, the food of the soul, and that they truly hunger and thirst after it. But to do this they have the greatest helps. Nothing is omitted to make them sensible, before they are permitted to approach this celestial banquet, of the great purity of heart and sublimity of affection requisite to partake of it worthily and to advantage; and it may be affirmed with great truth, that they never come to the holy table but with sentiments capable of making an impression on the most hardened reprobates.

THE first missionaries immediately perceived, that in order to inspire the new converts with a great respect for the holy place, and for the worship peculiar to it, it was proper to employ some exterior pomp and ceremony; and nothing has been spared to make the proper use of this observation. All the churches are large, with three, and often five naves, somewhat too low, indeed, for their length and breadth, because the roof is supported by columns of one piece. In the largest churches there are five very neat altars, at least; that in the middle, which is the great altar, has always something august and striking in it. The Spaniards themselves are surprized to see them so magnificent, and so rich in plate, linen, and oraments. It is, indeed, the only subject of emulation between the Reductions, some of whom have been known to rebuild their churches from the very foundations, merely to put them on a level with others; and

even deprive themſelves of the neceſſaries of life to effect it.

All the churches are adorned with paintings which repreſent the principal myſteries of our holy religion, and the moſt heroic actions of the ſaints of the old and new teſtament. Theſe paintings are ſeparated by feſtoons and compartiments of an everlaſting verdure, interſperſed with the moſt beautiful flowers. On ſolemn days, the pavement is likewiſe ſtrewed with flowers, and the whole church ſprinkled with ſweet waters, which perfume the air. This, indeed, is eaſily done, as the materials are to be found in this country all the year round. Beſides, the Indians being very fond of flowers and odiferous plants, theſe ornaments contribute to remind them that they ought, by their innocence and virtue, to be the good odour of Jeſus Chriſt, and render themſelves worthy of becoming the living temples of the Holy Ghoſt.

These methods have ſucceeded beyond the moſt ſanguine expectations of the miſſionaries. Nothing can come up to the modeſty, reſpect and tender devotion with which they aſſiſt at the divine myſteries, and the ordinary prayers, which are, almoſt all of them, ſaid in the church. The attention, with which they liſten to the inſtructions and exhortations of their paſtors, almoſt ſurpaſſes belief; and during the act of contrition, with which both inſtructions and exhortations are always concluded, and which is pronounced with a loud voice, they ſob and ſigh; and would publickly confeſs their faults, did not their miſſionaries employ all their authority to prevent it.

It is by theſe means that the miſſionaries have ſucceeded, in entirely extirpating from this republick certain vices, drunkenneſs eſpecially, to which the Indians have an almoſt invincible diſpoſition; and inſpire them with ſo great a delicacy of conſcience, that, at preſent, they rarely bring any but

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the ſlighteſt faults to the tribunal of penance. Don Pedro Faxardo, biſhop of Buenos Ayres, wrote to the king of Spain, that he did not believe there was a ſingle mortal ſin committed in any of theſe towns in a whole twelvemonth. They preſent themſelves, however, before this tribunal with ſuch ſentiments of compunction, that they ſeldom leave it without diſſolving into tears. And, indeed, no pains have been ſpared to engrave deeply in their hearts the ſalutary fear of diſpleaſing God; and to keep out of their way, every thing capable of endangering their innocence. It is for this purpoſe that houſes of refuge have been every where eſtabliſhed for the reception of widows, and ſuch married women as have no children, during the abſence of their huſband. They are all maintained in theſe houſes, at the expence of the publick, when they cannot work, or what they do is found inſufficient for their ſupport.

It is no way ſurprizing, that God ſhould work ſuch wonders in ſuch poor ſouls; nor that thoſe very Indians, to whom ſome learned doctors would not allow reaſon enough to be received into the boſom of the church, ſhould be at this day one of its greateſt ornaments; and, perhaps, the moſt precious portion of the flock of Jeſus Chriſt. It is at leaſt, certain, that there are to be found a great number of chriſtians among them, who have attained the moſt eminent ſanctity; that all, or almoſt all of them carry their contempt of the goods of this life to ſuch an extraordinary degree, as to be always ready to part with what they poſſeſs for each others relief, and the decoration of the houſe of the Lord. Nay, they ſcruple making uſe themſelves of the moſt precious fruits of their induſtry. For inſtance, I ſaid that there is in ſome parts of this country, a kind of bees, called *Opemus*, whoſe wax exceeds any thing

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we know of in whiteneſs. Theſe Neophytes have conſecrated all they can gather of it to burn before the pictures of the Bleſſed Virgin; and, a jeſuit having once endeavoured to perſuade ſome of them, who happened to be in diſtreſs, to ſell what they had gathered of it, in order to procure the neceſſaries they wanted; "We have, they anſwered, conſecrated it all to our good mother, and are not afraid of her abandoning us in our diſtreſs."

THE churches are ſeldom without a great number of perſons, who there ſpend, in prayer, all the time they can ſpare from their neceſſary labours. At day-break, the children of both ſexes aſſemble there at the ringing of a bell; and, after morning prayer, ſing the chriſtian doctrine till ſun riſe. The men and women then come to hear maſs; after which they all go to their ſeveral taſks. In the evening, the children return to church to be catechiſed; which done, evening prayers are ſaid, at which all in general, as much as poſſible, aſſiſt. Theſe indiſpenſable devotions always terminate with the roſary. A maſs of the virgin, and another for the dead, is ſung every Monday. On Sundays and holidays, all repair to the church by day-break, and immediately begin to ſing the chriſtian doctrine, after which the prieſt performs what marriages or eſpouſals are to be performed. The proſelytes aſſiſt at theſe ceremonies, and even the infidels, if any happen to be in the Reduction, as they have been found by experience to inſpire them with very high notions of our holy religion. The feaſts and faſts of the week are then publiſhed; likewiſe all orders and letters from the biſhops. After maſs, ſtrict enquiry is made, if any one has abſented himſelf from it, or any diſorder has happened, that requires an immediate remedy. The baptiſm of the Catechumens, and ſometimes that of the new born infants. is the firſt function of the

afternoon.

afternoon. Then veſpers are ſung; and the day finiſhes, as uſual, with evening prayers and the roſary. But, in the congregations, the veſpers are always followed by an exhortation.

THESE congregations are on the ſame footing with thoſe, that have been erected in almoſt all the houſes of the ſociety; and are divided into ſeveral claſſes. There is one for the young men, from twelve to thirty, under the protection of the prince of the heavenly militia. All the reſt are under that of the mother of God. None are admitted members of theſe aſſociations, but ſuch as diſtinguiſh themſelves by their charity to their neighbours; their zeal for maintaining good order and converting infidels; and their aſſiduity in approaching the ſacraments. The apprehenſion of being ſtruck out of the table that contains the names of the aſſociates, would alone be ſufficient to keep them within the ſtricteſt bounds of their duty. The leaſt intemperance, if attended with any ſcandal, is enough to make the perſon guilty of it withdraw of his own accord; and nothing has contributed ſo much to extirpate entirely ſo dangerous a vice.

THE miſſionaries have even found means to inſpire theſe Neophytes with ſo great an averſion for drunkenneſs, the moſt univerſal of all their vices, and the moſt difficult to extirpate, that, when their affairs calls them to ſpaniſh towns, it is impoſſible to prevail upon them to taſte any wine. On theſe occaſions, they have been often heard to ſay, that wine is the beſt thing that comes from Spain, but that to them it is downright poiſon. The ſame precautions have been taken to cure them of incontinency, which is one of the ordinary conſequences of drunkenneſs. The ſlighteſt fault of this kind would be ſufficient to render any of them

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unworthy in the eyes of the rest, of being counted among the servants of the queen of virgins.

As to the women, the pains taken to inspire them with a great horror for impurity, have succeeded so well, that they readily submit to the most ignominious penance, for the least liberty they give themselves in this respect; young girls have often been known to part with their lives, rather than yield to the brutality of infidels into whose hands they had the misfortune of falling. It has not, however, been as yet thought quite so safe to exhort them to celibacy. In short, the two sexes are no where suffered to intermix, not even at church, in the middle of which there is a passage from the door to the sanctuary, which parts the men from the women. They are even divided into classes, according to their different ages; and every class has its inspectors, who see that all those under their care behave with the strictest decorum. Those who inspect the children carry in their hands long rods, with which they immediately put in mind of their duty those, who seem ever so little to forget it. To conclude, there are doors on both sides, by which the whole congregation may come in and go out without the least disorder or confusion.

The reader may imagine from what I have already said of the natural taste which these Indians discover for musick, that the missionaries failed not to avail themselves of so happy a disposition to engage the infidels, whom curiosity, accident or business led to the Reductions, to listen to their instructions, and inspire those they converted with a greater liking to the divine service. It is for this purpose that all the christian doctrine has been set to music, and this expedient has answered exceedingly well. The musicians, who, when they perform in church, wear, as all others immediately in the service of it, a very decent and neat habit, at

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the ſame time that they inſpire others with devotion, ſeem to glow with it themſelves, which proves ſtill more, that they do not make any extraordinary efforts to ſucceed; and that, as the natural effect of muſick is to excite in the heart thoſe ſentiments which it already poſſeſſes, this art finds in the Indians who practice it, and in thoſe who hear them, no ſentiments but ſuch as tend to piety and devotion.

THE ſolemn feſtivals are celebrated with the greateſt pomp, eſpecially that of the ſaint whoſe name the church bears, and that of the bleſſed ſacrament. On the approach of the firſt, invitations are ſent to the inhabitants of the neareſt Reductions; and they attend in great numbers, the officers on horſeback and in their uniforms. The ſolemnity begins the eve of the holiday by a very fine military proceſſion, in which the Alferez, who carries the great ſtandard, appears mounted on a proud courſer richly capariſoned, and rides under a magnificent canopy. After perambulating the principal ſtreets in very good order, to the ſound of the drums and other warlike inſtruments of muſick, they repair to the great door of the church, where thoſe on horſeback alight, and the Alferez takes his ſeat in a chapel prepared for his reception. The firſt veſpers are then performed, after which the children are made to dance in the great ſquare, where the whole company, both inhabitants and ſtrangers, are placed in the greateſt order. The dances being finiſhed, the cavalry returns to the place where they began their march. At night, bonfires are made from diſtance to diſtance, and all ſtreets are illuminated. The next day, they repair to high maſs in the ſame order they repaired, the evening before, to firſt veſpers. At noon, the inhabitants entertain the ſtrangers; and every one is regaled with a ſmall cup of wine. Immediately after

after the ſecond veſpers, at which every thing paſſes as at the firſt, they run at the ring. The miſſionaries aſſiſt at it, with all the chiefs and officers, to keep the ſpectators in order; diſtribute the prizes to the conquerors; and give the ſignal for breaking up.

But nothing can compare with the proceſſion of the bleſſed ſacrament; and it may be affirmed, that, without any diſplay of riches or magnificence, it forms a ſight, which yields, in nothing, to the richeſt and moſt magnificent proceſſion in any other part of the world. Don Antonio de Ulloa informs us, in general, that it is attended with very fine dancing, far above what is to be ſeen in the province of Quito; that the dancers are very neatly dreſſed; and that the pomp of it, upon the whole, equals that of the greateſt cities, at the ſame time that infinitely more decency and devotion accompanies it. I ſay, that no treaſures were to be ſeen at this ceremony; but all the beauties of ſimple nature are there ſo happily diſpoſed as to repreſent her in all her glory. She even appears, if I may ſay ſo, all life and ſoul on the occaſion; for, over the greens and flowers that compoſe the triumphal arches, under which the bleſſed ſacrament paſſes, there appears flocks of birds of every colour, tied by the legs to ſtrings of ſuch a length, that a ſtranger would imagine they enjoyed their full liberty, and were come of their own accord to mix their warblings with the voices of the muſicians, and the reſt of the people; and bleſs, in their own way, him, whoſe providence carefully ſupplies all their wants.

All the ſtreets are hung with carpets very well wrought, and ſeparated by garlands, feſtoons, and compartiments of verdure, diſpoſed with the moſt beautiful ſymmetry. From diſtance to diſtance, there appear lions and tigers very well

well chained, that they may not disturb the solemnity instead of adorning it; and even very fine fishes sporting and playing in large basons of water. In a word, every species of living creatures assist at the solemnity, as it were, by their deputies, to do homage to the incarnate word, in his august sacrament; and acknowledge the sovereign dominion his father has given him over all living creatures. Wherever the procession passes, the ground is covered with mats, and strewed with flowers and odoriferous herbs. All, even the smallest children, have a hand in these decorations, amongst which are, likewise, to be seen the flesh of the animals newly killed for food; every thing the Indians regale themselves with at their greatest rejoicings; and the first fruits of their labours; all, in order to make an offering of them to the Lord; the grain, particularly, they intend to sow, that he may give it a blessing. The warbling of the birds, the roaring of the lions and tigers, the voices of the musicians, the plain chant of the choir, all intermix without confusion, and conspire to form a concert not to be equalled in any other part of the world.

The great royal standard is carried behind the blessed sacrament. The cacique, the corregidor, the regidors, and the alcaldes, support the canopy. The militia, both horse and foot, with their colours and standards flying, assist, likewise, at the procession in good order. But, however striking this spectacle may be, the greatest beauty of it, beyond all manner of doubt consists in the piety, the modesty, the respect, and even the air of holiness, visible in every countenance; so that, perhaps, the triumph of the saviour of mankind is no where more compleat than in this barbarous country, where his name was not known two ages ago. As soon as the blessed sacrament is returned to the church,

the Indians preſent to the miſſionaries all the ſeveral kinds of eatables that have been expoſed in the proceſſion; and the fathers, after ſending the beſt of every thing to the ſick, diſtribute what remains among the reſt of the inhabitants. The evening, as on all other great ſolemnities and days of publick rejoicing, concludes with the moſt curious fire-works. "In ſhort, ſays Don Antonio de Ulloa, theſe Neophytes omit no circumſtance either of feſtivity or devotion practiſed in the moſt opulent cities of Old Spain."

THEIR cemeteries or burying grounds are great ſquares, always near the church, divided lengthways by fine walks bordered with orange and lemon trees; the middle one leading to a chapel, planted all round with ſtately cypreſs and palm trees, and incloſed with low walls. Every Monday a proceſſion is made to the chapel, in order to ſing a maſs of Requiem, which is followed by a *Libera* at each of the croſſes planted at the four corners of the cemetery. There are other chapels, at ſome diſtance from every reduction, to ſerve as a ſtation to the proceſſions made on the rogation days, and at other times, either to deprecate God's anger in caſes of public calamity; or to return him thanks for ſpecial mercies. All the ſtreets of the town terminate at one or another of theſe chapels; and have, beſides, every one of them a croſs at each end, where the proceſſion makes a pauſe, to perform muſically an anthem, whoſe words are adapted to the ſubject of the proceſſion, or elſe contain ſome article of the chriſtian doctrine. It then enters an avenue planted with the moſt beautiful and ſtately trees, which leads to the chapel. In their way to this chapel they ſing the uſual prayers, and conclude them by another anthem. All the inhabitants aſſiſt at this proceſſion, except the ſick, or thoſe whoſe buſineſs will not admit them to be preſent.

No

No pains have been ſpared to eſtabliſh the moſt exact police in this republick. All the inhabitants are to be at home, every evening, by a certain hour, when a ſufficient detachment begins to patrol the ſtreets and ſquares, for a certain time, at the end of which, they are relieved by another; and ſo on till day light. There are two reaſons for this inſtitution; the firſt is, to hinder the inhabitants from leaving home at an unſeaſonable hour without its being known where they go, and upon what errand. The ſecond is, to prevent the town's being ſurprized by an enemy; for there are every where ſtrolling Indians, againſt whom it is impoſſible to be too much on ones guard. The perſons thus entruſted with the care of maintaining good order, and preventing ſudden attacks, are choſen with the ſame precaution obſerved in chuſing thoſe, who are deſtined for publick employments and the ſervice of the churches.

THESE precautions conſiſt in preparing, from their very infancy, for every employment, thoſe who diſcover the properest diſpoſitions to fill it worthily. The inhabitants, in general, are taught nothing but what is neceſſary to make them good workmen; enable them to govern their families well; and qualify them for ſuch little ſubaltern employments, as require no extraordinary genius. Formerly, the Guaranis, and all the other Indians of theſe provinces, could only reckon by their fingers and toes. To expreſs any number exceeding twenty, they made uſe of a word equivalent to our *Many*. At preſent, the Neophytes underſtand enough of numbers to anſwer all their purpoſes, and nothing more is required of them. The miſſionaries know the extent of their capacity, and exact nothing beyond it. They keep them within the bounds of their ancient ſimplicity, but diveſted of all that vice and ſavageneſs which disfi-

figured it. In a word, this republick is, properly, the feat of evangelical fimplicity; and it is in order to preferve it genuine and entire, that the miffionaries do all that lies in their power to hinder the Neophytes from having any communication with the Europeans; experience having convinced them, that all the new chriftians of America, who are fallen from their primitive fervour, fell merely in confequence of their having converfed too freely with the old chriftians from Europe; or even having only taken too near a view of them.

It is, likewife, for this reafon, that, in all the journeys they are obliged to take; during their refidence in the Spanifh towns; and all the time they ferve his majefty, as foldiers or labourers; they are accompanied by miffionaries, who never lofe fight of them; who often fpeak to them of God; fee that they exactly comply with all their duties, and perform punctually all their religious exercifes; and, as yet, thank God, they have not been known to give themfelves any loofe. On the contrary we are told, that the actions and difcourfes, moft capable of making bad impreffions, ferve only to infpire them with a greater horror of vice; that no indecent word ever efcapes their lips; and that they, are, of themfelves, extremely folicitous not to omit any of their ufual exercifes of devotion. It muft, however, be owned, that thofe who live at the greateft diftance from the Spanifh fettlements, and feldomeft leave their own, difcover a more extraordinary degree of fervour and fimplicity than the reft; on whom, for this reafon, the miffionaries are obliged to beftow more than ordinary care and attention.

But there is one thing, greatly to their honour, univerfally allowed by all the Europeans fettled in South America; which is, that they no longer difcover any traces of their former pronenefs to ven-

geance, cruelty, licentiousness, and the grosser vices; in a word, that they are no longer, in any respect, the same men they formerly were; that what prevails most in their characters at present, is a most cordial love and affection for each other, and charity for all men, that charms all who frequent them, the infidels especially, whom their behaviour serves to inspire with the most favourable opinion of the christian religion. The readiness with which they relieve each other in their wants; the lively joy they express as often as they see any addition made to the number of those who adore Jesus Christ; leave no room to doubt, that the true love of their neighbour, and the warmest zeal for the glory of God, are become their ruling passions. There is nothing, in fact, which they are not ready to do or suffer, to extend the kingdom of God; and we shall, perhaps, have occasion to mention, hereafter, some instances of this disposition. There is a kind of emulation among them to facilitate to the new missionaries, the acquisition of their language; and one of their caciques has been known to learn Spanish, merely to be able to translate pious tracts in that tongue; and he, accordingly, translated some of them. When a new reduction is to be founded, all contribute to the undertaking with the greatest earnestness and alacrity; and with a generosity that knows no bounds.

The publick rejoicings, which they are, from time to time, permitted to make, appeared necessary to the missionaries, as well to preserve their health, as to keep up among them an air of cheerfulness and good humour, which are so far from being contrary to virtue, that they greatly contribute to render it amiable, and increase devotion, as often as, after the example of the royal prophet, christians propose to themselves their ce-

leſtial country, as the principal object of their joy. Another view the miſſionaries had in this toleration, was to ſtrengthen the union between all the members of this republick; and experience proves, that nothing could be better imagined to anſwer ſo deſirable an end. The women never aſſiſt at theſe rejoicings, otherwiſe than as ſpectators; and the preſence of the prieſts ſerves to keep the whole company within thoſe bounds, which chriſtians ſhould never treſpaſs. The leaſt indecency on theſe occaſions would ſubject the offender to immediate puniſhment.

FROM all we have ſaid it evidently follows, that there can no where be found ſo great a degree of happineſs, as that enjoyed by the members of this new church; and that it was with great reaſon Monſieur Muratori intitled his deſcription of it, *Il chriſtianeſſimo felice.* In fact, what can chriſtians deſire, who have confined themſelves to the neceſſaries of life, and are, morally, ſure never to come ſhort of them; who even know, after the apoſtle's example, to enjoy plenty, without making an ill uſe of it; and, without murmuring, ſuffer want; who never entertain the leaſt thoughts of deſpairing in providence, which never fails to ſupply them against unexpected accidents, with reſources equally unexpected; who regulate all their ſentiments and all their actions by the pureſt maxims of the goſpel; who live under the conduct of thoſe, to whom they owe all the bleſſings they enjoy; who poſſeſs, in fine, all the advantages of ſubordination and dependence, without feeling any of that uneaſineſs uſually attending reſtraint.

THEY would, no doubt, be ſtill happier, had it been poſſible to hinder them from knowing ſo much as the name of war; but, even in the very infancy of their republick, they experienced all the horrors of it, as will preſently appear; and they

have to this day neighbours, from whom they can expect neither no rest, but in proportion as they can command it. It was, therefore, absolutely requisite to put arms into their hands, and instruct them in an art which is the greatest plague of mankind. But it is not to make conquests, or to enrich themselves at the expence of other nations, they practice it. As neither their countrymen, nor those strangers, who, in a hostile manner, formerly carried on so cruel a persecution against them, dare any longer attack them, they have, for many years past, no other occasion to use their arms, but in the service of the prince, to whom they have sworn an implicit obedience. Those, therefore, who are charged with the conduct of them, having this consolation, that they never take the field but through a wise and necessary precaution, or by the orders of their sovereign; thus sanctifying themselves, it may be said, in a profession so dangerous to virtue.

Every town keeps on foot a body of cavalry, and another of infantry. The infantry, besides the maçana, and the bow and arrow, carry a sling, a sword, and a musket; the cavalry use sabres and lances; and likewise, a musket, as they sometimes do duty on foot, like the European dragoons. They themselves make all their small arms, their field pieces, and even their heavy artillery. They never use the heavy artillery, but to keep their neighbours in awe; or the field pieces, but when they are commanded on the king's service. But, as I already said, they never keep any of their arms, of any kind, by them, unless when there is some reason to apprehend a surprize. At all other times, the soldier is not distinguished from the mere citizen; and those brave fellows, on whom the security of the republick depends, and who so often come

home loaded with laurels, as ſoon as they have laid by their arms, might ſerve as models of piety and ſubmiſſion to the moſt retired monk.

EVERY monday, the corregidor of every town, not only reviews his troops, in the great ſquare, but makes them perform their exerciſe. On theſe occaſions, they form two diviſions, which attack each other, and ſometimes do it with ſo much ardour, that the commanding officer, to prevent miſchief, is obliged to order a retreat to be ſounded ſooner than he intended. Prizes are, likewiſe, propoſed, from time to time, for thoſe, who perform beſt at the bow, lance, ſling, and fire arms. The moſt diverting exerciſe of all is that of the lance. That of the ſling is very ſurprizing, on account of the juſtneſs with which the ſlingers hit the mark; and it may be truly affirmed, that there are no troops in all America capable of making head againſt them with ſling or lance. I may even, I think, venture to pronounce this militia invincible by equal numbers. They are, beſides, very docile; never give way; and, when broke, rally at the firſt order. However, they would not, it is to be preſumed, fight the worſe, were they properly headed by Spaniſh officers.

THE ambuſcades, and ſudden irruptions and attacks, which uſed formerly to prove ſo fatal to them, are now no longer to be dreaded, on account of the great care taken to keep them conſtantly on their guard. There is always a party of horſe employed in ſcouring the country, with orders to give notice of every thing that paſſes; and all the defiles, by which an enemy could penetrate into the country, are well guarded. But as, in ſpite of all theſe precautions, ſome of an enemy's parties might, by the favour of the woods, ſteal upon a town, and ſtorm it, while the inhabitants were at church, the

military

military men are permitted to carry their arms there along with them, when there is any reason to suspect such an attack that they may be in readiness to stop a coup de main, and give the rest of the inhabitants time to look about them.

This republick occupies a great extent of country, the air of which is, in general, moist, and the weather pretty temperate. In some of the southern districts of it, the winters are pretty severe; but the lands are every where fruitful, and yield sugar, tobacco, and all the necessaries of life. Not only grains peculiar to the country, but those brought from Europe, thrive very well in them. The crops of cotton generally amount to two thousand arobes for every reduction. The country likewise yields, as we said before, great quantities of honey and wax, which require no trouble but that of going into the woods to gather them. When the Indians have laid up a stock of every thing for the present year's consumption, and a sufficiency of seed to provide for the next; what remains is, along with the weed of Paraguay, carried to Santafe, to be exchanged for commodities; or sold for money to pay the king's tribute, and buy such things as cannot be had in the way of barter.

The Guaranis were for a long time the only Indians, in a manner, that composed this republick; and they are still the bulk of them. Next to them are the *Tapes*, who spoke the same language, and are probably of the same extraction. Nay, their name is often given to all the subjects of this republick, in the rescripts of the catholick kings. But there are few nations between the Parana, the province of Uraguay, and Brazil, that have not supplied the Reductions with recruits. Besides, the missionaries frequently take the field, in company with some of their Neophytes, to make spiritual conquests; and they seldom return unsuccessful. The most diffi-

cult to reduce are the *Guanoas*, of whom we shall say something in another place; not only because they are very lazy, and very dissolute; but more still, because their blood is mixed with that of the Spaniards, some of whom, from time to time, take refuge among them to avoid justice, and cannot, by their bad example, but give them a dislike to the christian religion. Some of these Guanoas, however, who through curiosity, or a desire of seeing their countrymen, come to the reductions, are retained there by the kind reception they meet. This is, likewise, the case with some other Indians and even with the *Charuas*, a wandering and very savage people, who massacred great numbers of Spaniards, during the first building of Buenos Ayres and the neighbouring establishments. But those, who, next to the Guaranis and the Tapes, have contributed most to fill up the vacancies, which war, and especially sickness, pretty often occasion in the reductions, are the *Guananas*, who live between the Parana and Brazil. For, as these Indians cultivate the earth, admit no out-laws among them, and are pretty docile and laborious, there is the less trouble to gain them over.

It will, no doubt, appear surprizing, that a republick so well regulated, and in which so much care is taken to prevent every thing that may impair the health of its members, should not people faster. But, besides the Neophytes having been for a long time the sport of revolutions and a prey to wars, by which an infinite number of them perished; besides their long and frequent expeditions at a great distance from home in the king's service, since, by being permitted the use of fire-arms, they have had nothing to fear from other Indians; no method has been as yet discovered to secure them from certain epidemical diseases, which sometimes carry off half the inhabitants of the

towns,

towns, in which they break out. And it is this that has deceived several persons, who, from seeing the tribute rolls of one year, formed an estimate of what was to be paid into the treasury the next; not considering, or perhaps not willing to consider, that the number of those subject to the tribute was not only not encreased, but considerably lessened.

THE commonest of these disorders, which are often called plagues, on account of their becoming general in a short time, are the small pox, the purples, malignant fever, and a fourth, of which we are barely told, that it is attended with very sharp pains; these disorders are so much the more dangerous, as the Indians, quite careless of themselves, can scarce ever be prevailed on by others to take any pains to prevent them, or stop their progress; and as, besides, there is not a single physician in all the reductions, nor any other surgeons, but a few lay brother jesuits; and it has not as yet been found possible to establish hospitals or good dispensaries. The missionaries supply, as much as possible, the want of all these necessaries, by all the care the most industrious and tender charity can suggest, especially for the relief of the sick; and it must be owned, that two men, and sometimes but one, obliged to attend, at once, to all the necessities of body and soul, and make frequent excursions into the country, where several men stationed there to carry on some branches of husbandry, or take care of their cattle, are overtaken by the disorder; and who often have not, by day or by night, a moment's repose; it must be granted, I say, that persons having so many calls to answer, cannot possibly answer them all. It is even surprizing, and in some sort miraculous, that breathing on these occasions, as they constantly do, an infected air; and being incessantly employed in serving the sick, administring the sacraments to the dying, and burying the dead, they so seldom catch any dis-

order themselves, or sink under the fatigue of attending others.

The Indians know all this perfectly well. Nothing makes a greater impression upon them, or the Infidels, many of whom are often witnesses to it, than this charity, which takes in every necessity, and exposes itself to every danger; which no labours can frighten, no drudgery disgust. It is, therefore, no way surprizing, that sensible as they are of the great difference between their situation, and that of the other Indians obliged to do personal service, they are so attached to those, to whom they are indebted for their liberty; and that, as often as other pastors have been sent to them, they immediately dispersed. This has happened more than once. The Jesuit Missionaries, have, on their side, for the Neophytes a tenderness, that is scarce conceivable; and is inspired chiefly by that undeserved confidence in them, which these poor Indians express, on every occasion, by their patience and resignation in sicknesses the most painful, during which, though destitute of many things fit for persons in their condition, and with which it is not in the power of these Fathers to supply them, they seldom are heard to utter a single complaint. They receive with submission, and even with thanks, every thing from the hand of God; and sigh after nothing but their heavenly country.

The consolation of these apostolic men, when the Lord strikes their flock in this manner, consists in their having the greatest certainty, that can be expected, that heaven is peopled by their losses; and that they hereby gain so many new intercessors with the master of the harvest, to give them a more abundant crop in their spiritual excursions. These disorders often attack the neophytes in their journeys, in which they are quite destitute of all manner of assistance. It sometimes, happens, that,

when

when they have scarce got half way, the small-pox overtakes them, and obliges them to stop short, in imminent danger of perishing on some desart shore, or of falling into the hands of barbarians. Father Cattaneo, who, at his very first entrance upon this mission in the year 1730, happened to be present at one of these sudden surprizes by sickness, gives us, in one of his letters, such a detail of the distress attending them, as can scarce be read without shedding tears.

SUCH is this pretended kingdom, of which, it is said, that the Jesuits are sovereigns of, and draw from treasures enough to enrich all the society; but into which, it is added, they take the greatest care not to let any strangers enter, lest it should be discovered what use they make of all these riches, and be driven out of the country, in case the avenues to it came to be well known. Nothing has, as yet, been said of the Christian Republick of the *Chiquites*, which the same Jesuits of Paraguay founded a little more than sixty years ago, in the province of Santa Cruz de là Sierra, and of which I shall speak in due season. It differs in nothing from that of the Guaranis, upon which it has been modelled, but that it was sooner brought to perfection, because the Chiquites are more laborious than the Guaranis; and supported their missionaries for some years, during which they received no pension from court, as the Neophytes had not as yet been declared immediate vassals of the crown, nor were, consequently, liable to pay any tribute.

I CANNOT better conclude this description of the Christian Republick established on the Parana and the Uruguay, than by the following letter written to Phillip V, in 1721, by Don Pedro Faxardo, of the order of the Trinity for the redemption of captives, and then bishop of Buenos Ayres, after his lordship visited all the reductions of his diocese.

SIRE,

SIRE,

A letter from the capital of Paraguay, in which my perſon is but little ſpared, having lately fallen into my hands, I take the liberty of writing to your majeſty. I am little concerned at what it contains to my prejudice; but I cannot be ſilent in regard to the calumnies and falſe accuſations, with which it loads the miſſionaries of this province. As the writer declares, that letters in the ſame ſtrain have been written to the royal council of the Indies, I ſhould be very much to blame, if I did not diſcover the malice of thoſe, who write them, and inform your majeſty of the prudent behaviour and uſeful labours of the truely apoſtolic men, againſt whom they rail, though not without wounding me through their ſides.

This is not the firſt time, Sire, that ſimilar complaints have been made of theſe miſſionaries to the ſupreme council of the Indies. But theſe fathers, who have nothing in view but the glory of God, and the preſervation and increaſe of their flouriſhing miſſions, have ſupported all the attacks made on them, with a conſtancy and equanimity, by which I could not but be greatly edified. What ſurpriſes me ſtill more, is that not only they appear quite inſenſible to all the ſtrokes made at them, but that for all theſe injuries they return nothing but kindneſs and charity. How many poor families are there in the capital of Paraguay, who would ſtarve but for their aſſiſtance? With what zeal do they not labour for the ſalvation of the inhabitants? They comfort them in their afflictions; they preach to them the truths of the goſpel; they aſſiſt them in ſickneſs; they inſtruct their children; they compoſe their diſſentions; they reconcile them when enemies; they are always ready to ſerve thoſe, who in any ſhape ſtand in need of it.

But

But so many virtues, instead of procuring them, as one might naturally expect, the love and esteem of this people, serve only to make them more readily yield to the malicious attacks of calumny. I am not afraid to say, that, if these fathers had less virtue, they would be less hated. I have often visited their missions; and I can assure your majesty, that I never beheld more order or disinterestedness, than that with which they are governed by these fathers, who make use of nothing belonging to the Neophytes for their own cloathing or subsistence. In these numerous towns, composed of Indians naturally given to all manner of vice, there reigns so much innocence, that I don't believe a single mortal sin is committed in them; the pastors of them preventing by their great viglilance the commission of the smallest faults. I happened to be in one of these towns on a festival of our lady, and saw eight hundred persons communicate. It is not surprizing, that the enemy of mankind should execute so many storms against so holy a work, and use all his endeavours to destroy it. It is true, that the Missionaries are particularly attentive to hinder Indians from conversing with the Spaniards; and they are very much in the right of it; as such conversation could not fail giving a mortal blow to their innocence. It would introduce libertinism and a total corruption of manners. Of this we have a very striking proof in the behaviour of the Indians inhabiting the four Indian towns in the neighbourhood of this city.

It is, likewise, true, that these Indians yield an unlimited submission to their fathers in Jesus Christ; and what is very suprizing, there appears more gratitude in barbarians, who, before their conversion, gave room to doubt if they were men, than even in those born in the bosom of the church. As to their pretended riches, nothing ean be more chimerical.

rical. What they earn by their labour goes entirely to procure them neceſſaries for their churches; coarſe and cheap cloathing; and, every day, a ſmall quantity of meat, Indian corn, and garden ſtuff. Were theſe miſſions worth the Jeſuits ſo much, would their colleges be ſo poor, as to almoſt want the common neceſſaries of life?

For my part, who am perfectly well acquainted with every thing done in theſe miſſions, I cannot help applying to the company of Jeſus, thoſe words of the book of Wiſdom; *How beautiful is a chaſte generation, when joined with the luſtre of a pure and burning zeal!* which changes ſo many infidels into true children of the church; trains them up in the fear of God; forms them to the practice of chriſtian virtues; and, in order to maintain them in piety, and preſerve them from the contagion of vice, patiently ſuffers the moſt atrocious calumnies, *The memory of ſuch a generation is precious in the ſight of God and man*; particularly, in that of your majeſty, to whom this province is indebted for ſo many favours.

It is in their name, Sire, that I have the honour to preſent this memorial to your majeſty; and to aſk of you the ſame favour, that was aſked of Domitian by one of his ſubjects. I have, lord, ſaid he, one day, to this emperor, an enemy, who grieves greatly at all the marks of goodneſs you give me; but I beſeech you, to give me ſtill more of them, that he may have ſtill greater reaſon to grieve, *da Cæſar tanto tu, magis ut doleat.* This is what I expect from your majeſty's goodneſs, in behalf of theſe poor Indians, fervently praying God to preſerve you for the good of this monarchy.

At Buenos Ayres, the 20th of May 1721.

Brother Peter, Biſhop of Buenos Ayres.

BOOK

BOOK VI.

New decrees of the Spanish court in favour of the Indians, especially those submitting without compulsion, and civilized and converted by the Jesuits. Royal visitor in the reductions. Some Spaniards seem willing to comply with the royal decrees in favour of the Indians, whilst others attempt to make slaves even of those belonging to the reductions. Description of the town called St. Paul of Pritáningue in Brazil. Why the inhabitants called Mamelus. The Mamelus carry into slavery several of the Reduction Indians; and are the occasion of many more separating from their pastors to seek shelter in the woods, where some perish through want and fatigue, and others are devoured by wild beasts. Division of the provinces of Paraguay, and Rio de la Plata. Description of the country called Tape. Curious animal. Curious vegetables. Reductions established in Tape. Singular nations called Caaiguás. Mamelus destroy two Spanish towns. Reductions removed to avoid their fury. Spaniards refuse to assist the new christians.

1610-13. WHILE the fathers Maceta and Cataldino were extending their spiritual conquests among the Guaranis on the banks of the Parapamena, some of their brethren had the happiness of founding a reduction under the name of St. Ignatius

St. Ignatius Guaza, between the Tebiquari and the Parana, and of converting a great number of the Diaguites.. Even a Cacique among the Guaycurus, who affected to be called Don Martin, applied for some Jesuits to instruct his subjects. But though the Spaniards could not expect to live with any comfort in the country without making friends of these Indians, and it was impossible to make friends of them without first making them christians, they could not bear even the distant prospect of losing the personal service of these poor creatures, whom they, in a manner, considered as part of their property. Nay, some of them, in hopes, it is probable, of frustrating the charitable designs of the missionaries, went so far as to publish, that the Spaniards had killed the relation of Don Martin, to whom these fathers had promised the fullest security for himself and his subjects while they remained along with him, in order to induce him to come and settle nearer the province of Paraguay. But the authors of so scandalous a report were fortunately discovered, though not punished with the severity they deserved.

1613. In the mean time, Don Francisco Alfaro arrived in Tucuman, in quality of royal visitor, with instructions to regulate the manner, in which the Indians given in command should be treated, so as to leave no just reason, to complain, to them, or the Spaniards. But it was no easy matter to determine, what the Spaniards had a just right to expect. The personal service, on the footing it then stood, could only be considered as an abuse of the commands, which it was no easy matter to reduce to equitable bounds; and, accordingly, neither the authority of the sovereign, nor the representations of the bishops, nor the severity of the governors and inferior

ferior magiſtrates have as yet been able to conquer this inveterate evil.

The viſiter, after declaring his majeſty's intentions, and conferring in private with ſeveral perſons who beſt underſtood the nature of the affair, called an aſſembly of the principal perſons of the province, in which every point was very maturely examined and diſcuſſed. The reſult was an unanimous decree, that the perſonal ſervice, in the manner it was then exacted in the country, was unlawful for the reaſons publickly alledged by every member. The viſiter, then, ſet out for Corduba, where the evil was much greater than at Santiago; and, on his arrival there, publiſhed the king's order, the viceroy's edicts, the ſentences of the royal audience of Charcas, and the new decree juſt now mentioned. But he met with ſo many obſtacles in the execution of them, that he thought proper to mitigate them a little, in hopes that, by proceeding with more gentleneſs, he might the ſooner diſpoſe the parties concerned to yield, at laſt, an unlimited obedience to the juſt commands of their ſuperiors. But we are not told how far he carried his condeſcenſion, nor what effects it then produced. All we know of the matter is, that he remained but a ſhort time in this town; and that, if ever the perſonal ſervice was put upon a proper footing, it continued ſo but a very ſhort time.

The viſiter, then, ſet out for the Aſſumption, in company with Don Diego Martin Negroni, named to the government of Paraguay and the provincial of the Jeſuits whom he had met at Corduba. At ſome diſtance from the Aſſumption, they were pretty much ſurprized to ſee a large boat draw near them covered with green branches and flowers; but more ſo, when they found it carried the ſon of Don Martin, the Guaycurus Cacique, whom his

father had ſent to compliment the viſiter in his name, and obtain leave for himſelf to wait upon him in perſon. The young Indian acquitted himſelf ſo well of his commiſſion, that he charmed all the ſpectators; and the viſiter, the governor, and the provincial thought proper to perform the reſt of the journey in his boat, in order to give him an unqueſtionable proof of their reliance on his aſſurances. Don Martin himſelf arrived at the Aſſumption, in a very ſhort time after them, accompanied by father Gonzales who had been ſent to him at his requeſt, and a great many of his countrymen, who were all very well received. He even brought another ſon of his, two years old, to be baptized; and, though he himſelf had not as yet applied for that favour, father Torrez thought proper to comply with his requeſt; the viſiter and the governor ſtanding ſponſors, in perſon, to the young chriſtian.

THE viſiter, then, cauſed the ſame publications to be made in the Aſſumption, in regard to the perſonal ſervice, which he had before ordered at Corduba and Santiago; but the principal inhabitants, many of whom were related to the firſt families of Spain, repreſented to him, that, by depriving them of the ſervices of the Indians, or reducing it to the limits mentioned in his proclamation, they ſhould be abſolutely diſabled from paying the king, what his majeſty required of them. All this was true; but it was their own fault, and that of their forefathers, who, by treating the natives of the country with more juſtice and humanity, might have obtained far greater ſervices from them, than any they could expect in the ſtate of ſlavery, to which they had reduced them. The evil, however, being already done (for a prodigious number of Indians had periſhed by exceſſive labour, or fled to avoid it,) the viſiter thought he might

conſent

consent to a medium, which, at the same time, that it would not render desperate so many persons of quality, should, in no shape, strike at the authority of the sovereign. He, therefore, permitted those, who had Indians in command, to exact from them, during the space of one month in every year, what services they thought proper, provided they paid them wages for the work done during the other eleven months. To this regulation he added several others in favour of the Indians; and the king not only approved the gratuitous service of those in command during one month, but gave leave to extend it to two months, as it had been at the first institution of the commands. But it will appear hereafter, that, in process of time, things insensibly returned to their old footing.

The visiter, next, declared, in the king's name, that neither the Guaranis nor the Guaycurus should ever be given in command, upon any pretence whatsoever; and that the fathers of the society of Jesus should, alone, be charged with the care of instructing and civilizing them; and engaging them to acknowledge for sovereigns the kings of Spain, of whom they should be considered as the immediate vassals; and that their missionaries should receive out of the royal treasury the same salary, that was allowed to the parish priest among the Indians of Peru. But father Torrez begged the visiter to reduce it to one fourth, assuring him, that it was enough for religious men, who knew how to live within bounds. We have already seen, that what the king allows the parish priests of the reductions for their subsistence, is taken from the tribute, which the Indians of them pay his majesty. Though father Torrez's disinterestedness gave great satisfaction, the visiter had scarce left the Assumption, when there arose so furious a storm against the Jesuits, as the authors of these

new regulations we have been ſpeaking of, that they were obliged to retire to their farm-houſe in the neighbourhood. Soon after their expulſion, however, one of the moſt conſiderable inhabitants, attended by all the Indians he had in command, waited on the governor, and proteſted to him, upon oath, that he would rather ſee himſelf reduced to beggary, than treſpaſs the bounds lately preſcribed to the encomenderoes. Then, turning to his Indians, he declared to them, that he by no means, pretended to treat them as ſlaves for the future, as he had hitherto done; but, on the contrary, would conſider them as his children. Though this humane and charitable act made ſo great an impreſſion upon moſt of thoſe in the ſame circumſtances, that the Jeſuits were ſoon invited back to their college, there ſtill remained a leaven of ill will againſt them, which has often ſhown itſelf, eſpecially ſince the Spaniards began again to treat the Indians with their uſual cruelty and injuſtice. Don Franciſco concluded his viſitation by a tour to Santiago, where he had received the ſtricteſt orders from his majeſty, and the viceroy of Peru, to ſee the Jeſuits re-eſtabliſhed; but he had no occaſion to proceed to violent methods for that purpoſe. The new governor, and his predeceſſor, who had been ſeverely reprimanded by the king for ſuffering the Jeſuits to be driven out of the place; the biſhop, who now began to lament with tears his weakneſs in regard to them, and the inhabitants of every rank; all being readier to receive them, than they were to return. The fathers, however, at length complied; and the viſiter endowed their college, partly out of the king's revenues, and partly out of thoſe of the cathedral. A ſeminary was, likewiſe, opened for the education of youth; but it was ſoon after transferred to Corduba, which is, at preſent, the capital of the province,

province, and the residence of its bishops. Much about the same time, the Spaniards, alarmed at some events, which they considered as so many judgments upon those, who had made the greatest abuse of the commands, sincerely renounced the personal service, which they had hitherto exacted from the Indians. Some of them even made them very large presents, by way of atonement for their former oppressions; and these poor creatures, transported with joy at so sudden a change, did nothing but extol those, to whom they imagined they were chiefly indebted for it; and sent them invitations, from every quarter, to settle among them, promising to repay their endeavours with the greatest docility and submission.

Every thing being thus regulated in Tucuman, father Torrez turned all his thoughts towards the province of Guayra. The first step he took was to send father Antonio Ruiz de Montoya, lately arrived from Spain, to the assistance of the fathers Maceta and Cataldino, who were no longer sufficient for the prodigious number of Guaranis, that daily came to put themselves under their conduct. The four reductions, however, which these missionaries had already formed, were not as yet overstocked with christians; for, having remarked, that most of their proselytes repaired to them, merely to avoid being molested by the Spaniards, or the Portugueze of Brazil; and in order to be the better able to defend themselves against their old enemies; they began to admit them with some reserve, as many of those who had been too readily received, soon grew tired of the regular life they were made to lead, and returned to their woods and mountains, when the missionaries least expected it, in spite of all the indulgence that could be allowed them without dishonouring the

religion, which it was the chief ambition of the missionaries to make them embrace.

In the year 1615, Father Torrez, who had, but seven years before founded this province with seven jesuits, was succeeded by father Pedro de Onate, to whom he left no less than one hundred and nineteen; and this number was greatly encreased, the year following, by a considerable reinforcement from Europe, so that these religious now found themselves in a condition to open regular classes in their colleges at Buenos Ayres, Santafe and St. Michael; supply with pastors some Spanish towns destitute of spiritual assistance; and send others to maintain and extend the spiritual conquests they had already made among the Indians, and attempt new ones. Of those sent on this last errand, father Gonzalez had the greatest success. He founded a reduction at a place called Itapua, sixty leagues from the Assumption, where a gut, by which a marsh drains into the Parana, forms a kind of port; and two others in the neighbourhood. But Don Ferdinando Arias, who had married this father's sister, and had been lately promoted, for the second time, to the government of Paraguay, had like to have blasted these promising appearances by an indiscreet attempt to forward them. Contrary to his brother-in-law's advice, he would visit the new reductions; and, though the Neophytes, sufficiently apprized by their pastor of the friendliness of his intentions, expressed the greatest pleasure at seeing him, the appearance of about fifty soldiers, whom he had taken along with him, caused such an alarm among the neighbouring Indians, that, while he was disposing of all the civil and military employments of the new establishments, with the same authority he could have done in any Spanish town of his government, a large body assembled to cut him off in his return; and would have infallibly

fallibly done it, had not his brother-in-law's eloquence opened him a paſſage through them. The governor, having thought proper to offer the cacique, who commanded them, a ſtaff of command, in the king's name, the barbarian prince nobly anſwered, that he had, for a long time paſt, commanded in the country without any ſuch ſtaff; and, therefore, deſired him to keep the bauble for ſomebody elſe, who might think it worth his acceptance.

1613-18. In the mean time, an epidemick diſeaſe broke out in the old reductions, and carried off a great number of the inhabitants; but theſe loſſes, as they ſerved to people heaven, gave the miſſionaries much leſs uneaſineſs than they ſuffered by living ſo near the town of Villarica, whoſe inhabitants let ſlip no opportunity of carrying off all the new chriſtians they could ſurprize, treating them in a manner that expoſed them to the danger of loſing their faith along with their liberty. To remedy this evil, the fathers thought proper to remove to the other ſide of the Paranapane and the Pirape; but it was not long before they diſcovered, that, by flying from one enemy, they got more within the reach of another, whoſe neigbourhood ſoon became fatal to all theſe new churches. Theſe were the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue, a ſmall town of the province of St. Vincent in Brazil, of whoſe origin and character it is requiſite I ſhould ſay ſomething, that the reader may the better underſtand the ſequel of this hiſtory.

The Portugueſe who conquered Brazil, after building St. Vincent on the ſea ſhore, ſent colonies into the inland parts of the country, where they built ſome towns, of which one of the moſt famous was this of St. Paul, ſurnamed *Piratininga* from the Indian name of the diſtrict, in which it was founded. Some time after the foundation of this

place, father Emmanuel de Nobrega, who had been ſent over to Brazil by St. Ignatius, and was the firſt provincial of the jeſuits there, finding, that this little town was advantageouſly ſituated to found a numerous church of Brazilians; and imagining, beſides, that the Indians here were more docile than thoſe in the neighbourhood of St. Vincent, removed to it the college of this laſt city; and, as he arrived at Piratininga the eve of the converſion of St. Paul, he gave his new church the name of that apoſtle; and this name, in courſe of time, became that of the town itſelf.

1618. THE inhabitants of this place continued, for ſome time, in religious ſentiments, through the endeavours of the jeſuits eſtabliſhed among them; and the Indians of the neighbourhood, for whom theſe fathers found means to obtain good treatment from their new neighbours, embraced the goſpel in great numbers. But this ſucceſs was of ſhort continuance, and the Portugueſe colony of St. Paul of Piratiningue, upon which the miſſionaries had founded their greateſt hopes for extending the kingdom of Jeſus Chriſt, ſoon became an invincible barrier in the way of their ſpiritual conqueſts. The evil proceeded from another colony contiguous to that of St. Paul, in which the blood of the Portugueſe had been greatly mixed with that of the Brazilians; for the contagion of this bad example ſoon reaching St. Paul, there ſprang from this mixture, a perverſe generation, who carried their diſorders of every kind to ſuch an exceſs, that, in proceſs of time, they came to be called *Mamelus*, on account of their great reſemblance to theſe ſlaves of the ancient ſultans of Egypt.

THIS diſſolution became ſo general, in ſpite of all the endeavours of the governors, magiſtrates, and jeſuits, ſeconded by the eccleſiaſtical ſuperiours, to put

put a ſtop to it, that the Mamelus, at length, ſhook off the yoke of all divine and human authority. Upon this, a great number of banditti of different nations, Portugueze, Spaniards, Dutch, and Italians, who were obliged to fly the juſtice of men, and deſpiſed that of God, and a great many of the natives ſettled amongſt them; and, having ſoon contracted a taſte for violence and rapine, gave themſelves up to it without reſtraint, and filled with horror a great extent of country. The ſhorteſt method of putting a ſtop to ſo great an evil, was to purge the earth of theſe miſcreants. It was equally the intereſt of the two crowns of Spain and Portugal, now united under one head, to attempt it. But the town of St. Paul, ſituated on the top of a rock, the avenues to which may be eaſily defended by a few reſolute fellows, could only be reduced by famine; and a much more numerous army would have been requiſite for this purpoſe, than either Brazil or Paraguay could raiſe and ſupport. Beſides, there never exiſted, between the two nations, harmony enough to make ſuch an enterprize ſucceed.

The air at St. Paul is very wholeſome and the ſky always ſerene. The weather too, is very temperate, though it lies in the 44th degree of South latitude. All the lands about are very fertile, and produce the beſt of wheat, beſides the fineſt ſugar canes; and abound with exceeding good paſtures. It could, therefore, be merely through a ſpirit of libertiniſm, and a love of rapine, that the Mamelus ſo long made it their buſineſs to overrun, in ſpite of the greateſt dangers of every kind, and the moſt conſtant fatigues, theſe vaſt uncultivated regions, which, from time to time, they have deſpoiled of two millions of inhabitants, ſo that their own country muſt ſoon have been without inhabitants, if

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to the many who never returned from theſe excurſions, which ſometimes laſted ſeven years, they did not ſubſtitute ſome of the captives they brought home with them, or ſome Indians, with whom they had formed an alliance.

THE Spaniards of Paraguay were as great ſufferers by theſe ruffians, as the Indian nations that happened to lie in their paſſage. But the former could blame none but themſelves for what they ſuffered; for, had they ſupported the reductions properly, the Mamelus would have found in them an inſuperable barrier; but to their great misfortune, avarice blinded them to their real intereſt. They could not help conſidering theſe new churches merely as a part of their property, and never opened their eyes to the advantages they might have lawfully derived from them, till all this frontier was unpeopled and entirely ruined. As the Mameluſs, however, ſoon met with more reſiſtance from the new chriſtians, than they, at firſt, expected, and did not chuſe to weaken themſelves by dint of conqueſt, they had recourſe to ſtratagem, and put ſeveral kinds in practice.

THAT, which for ſome time ſucceeded beſt, was, to appear in ſmall parties, led by commanders in the habit of jeſuits, in thoſe places, which they knew the jeſuits frequented in hopes of making proſelytes. The firſt thing they did on theſe occaſions was to erect croſſes. They, next, made little preſents to the Indians they met; diſtributed remedies among the ſick; and, as they were maſters of the Guarani language, exhorted them to embrace the chriſtian religion, of which they explained to them, in a few words, the principal articles. When they had by theſe arts aſſembled a great number of them, they propoſed to them to remove to ſome more convenient ſpot, where they aſſured them they ſhould want for nothing. Moſt of the poor crea-

tures permitted themſelves to be thus led by the noſe by theſe wolves in ſheep's cloathing, till the traitors, dropping the maſk, began to tie them; cutting the throats of thoſe who endeavoured to eſcape, and carrying the reſt into ſlavery. Some, however, eſcaped, from time to time, and alarmed the whole country. The jeſuits were conſidered by the Indians, as the authors of this wicked contrivance, till theſe fathers could point out who they really were; and, in the mean time, beſides being expoſed to greater dangers than ever during their excurſions, generally returned without being able to prevail on any Indians to follow them.

The Indians of the new republick formed 1718 by theſe fathers, had not till now been admitted to the holy table, except at the hour of death; nor were any admitted even then, but ſuch as had withſtood a tryal of ſeven years ſince their baptiſm. This time was thought neceſſary to obtain certain proofs of their conſtancy; to render them capable of conceiving a high opinion of the dignity of ſo auguſt a ſacrament; and to inſpire them with a real hunger for this celeſtial nouriſhment. Many, in fact, did ſurprizing things to obtain leave to partake of it. As nothing goes againſt the grain of theſe people ſo much as humiliations, it was this way the miſſionaries chiefly tried them; and they ſupported the tryal with a courage that could ſcarce be expected. As ſoon as notice was given to them to prepare for eating the bread of life, they did it by all the exerciſes of piety and pennance they could think of; eſpecially by faſting, which ſome carried to ſuch a length as not to taſte any thing for two days together. Conſidering their voracity, and readineſs to digeſt, which we have already ſpoken of, nothing could better prove how earneſtly they hungered after this divine manna. And, indeed, they reaped ſuch fruits from it, that even their

paſtors

pastors could hardly persuade themselves they were the same men.

There had been current, for a long time past, in the adjacent provinces, a tradition, to which, perhaps, more credit has been given in some relations, than it really deserves; but which, however, it is, I believe, as difficult to refute as to prove. As soon as the father's Cataldino and Maceta had removed to a greater distance from the Spanish settlements, in order to meet with fewer obstacles to the conversion of the Guaranis, some of the principal men among these Indians assured them, that they had been informed by their ancestors, that a holy man, called *Pay Luma*, or *Pay Tuma*, had preached in their country the faith of Heaven, (so they expressed themselves;) that numbers had put themselves under his conduct; and that, at his departure, he had foretold, that they and their descendants would abandon the worship of the true God whom he had made known to them; but that after some hundreds of years, new envoys of the same God would appear among them, armed with a cross like that which he carried, and would re-establish the same worship among their descendants.

Some years after this, the fathers de Montoya and de Mendoza, having penetrated into the canton of *Tayati*, of which I shall soon give some account; the inhabitants, seeing them come with crosses in their hands, received them, to their great surprize, with uncommon demonstrations of joy and affection; and, on the fathers expressing their surprize, related to them the same passages, that the fathers Cataldino and Maceta had heard from other Indians; adding, that the holy man was, likewise, called *Pay Abara*, or the father who lives in a state of celibacy. The tradition of the Brazilians tallies with that of the Guaranis, all to its

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adding that the father landed in the port of Saints, oppoſite to the bar of St. Vincent; and that he inſtructed the inhabitants in the arts of cultivating manioc, and making bread of it.

There is a great road leading from Brazil to Guayra, which, though very ſeldom uſed, is never overgrown with any but ſmall weeds; and the natives call it the road of *Pay Luma*. In ſhort, there is, above the Aſſumption, a rock, whoſe ſummit forms a terrace, where ſome people imagine they can perceive the tracks of human feet; and the Indians ſay, that it was from this ſpot Pay Luma uſed to preach the Law of God to their forefathers. The Peruvians, who give him the ſame name, ſhew ſome ſimilar veſtiges in their country, and relate a great many wonders, which they ſay the ſaint wrought among them. Be this as it will, ſeveral Spaniards have given credit to this tradition, and pretend that Pay Luma was the apoſtle ſaint Thomas.

Father Gonzalez now undertook to reconnoitre the Uruguay from one end to another. This river, which iſſues from ſome mountains in the neighbourhood of Brazil, between the 27th and 28th degrees of ſouth latitude, is no better than a rivulet at its ſource; but, ſoon encreaſed to a conſiderable degree by the acceſſion of ſeveral torrents, and, afterwards, by that of ſeveral rivers that fall into it on both ſides, it flows two hundred leagues between two chains of mountains, which confine it to a very narrow bed, and thereby render it extremely rapid. It, afterwards, widens ſo much, that ſix hundred and ninety miles above its diſcharge into the Paraguay, a ten oar boat cannot croſs it in leſs than half an hour, though it runs here at a very ſlow rate. The country about it now begins to grow pretty even and agreeable, and

abounds

abounds with the ſame animals and vegetables, that are found on the banks of the Parana.

BUT this river is as full of rocks, as that of Rio de la Plata is of ſand banks; and ſeveral of theſe rocks lie even with the ſurface of the water, ſo that there is no making uſe of ſails in it. The veſſels uſually employed upon it are called balzas, and conſiſt of two pirogues joined by ſeveral tranſverſe beams, two cubits aſunder, covered with planks. Upon theſe planks ſtands a tent to ſhelter the paſſengers from the heat of the ſun, and the injuries of the weather. The Uruguay abounds with fiſh, which are killed with arrows; when dead, floating to the ſurface, they are eaſily taken. Its banks abound with birds, ſeveral of them of all colours, particularly parrots, and the fly-bird ſo well known in Canada, perhaps, the moſt beautiful feathered creature in the univerſe. The tigers here are monſtrouſly large and fierce, and remarkable for the beauty of their ſkins, the ground of which is of a bright gold. When one of theſe animals is wounded, he immediately falls upon the man by whoſe arrow he was ſtruck; for he never fails to ſingle him out amongſt twenty others. Three Neophytes of the country, having one day diſcovered a tiger, and one of them, armed with a gun, having immediately fired at him; the animal directly flew at him, and would have torn him to pieces, had not the other two run him through and through in the ſpring he made to get at his aſſailant. The fields were formerly covered with lions, oſtriches, and deer; but, great numbers of them having been killed, the reſt retired to more ſolitary places. Though this country was full of inhabitants when the Spaniards arrived in Paraguay, it would now, perhaps, be little better than a deſart, were it not for the chriſtian reductions founded in it by Father

ther Gonzalez, who with the loſs of no lives but his own and that of his two companions, reduced this country to the obedience of the Catholic kings, after the Spaniards had in vain attempted to penetrate into it by force of arms. It is ſaid, that among the *Yaros* and *Charuas*, two nations living on the banks of this river, it is cuſtomary with thoſe who bury a relation, to cut off the joint of a finger or toe, beginning with the fingers; by which means many of them loſe all their fingers and toes very early; notwithſtanding which they walk and work very well.

It was about this time, that a province was taken from that of Paraguay, under the name of the province of Rio de la Plata. The *Tebiquari*, which runs into the Paraguay from the eaſt, was appointed the common boundery of theſe two provinces, of which that of Rio de la Plata was to have Buenos Ayres for its capital. It was, afterwards, ordered, that the reductions eſtabliſhed in the Guayra, and on the banks of the Parana, ſhould be under the juriſdiction of the governor and biſhop of Paraguay; and thoſe on the Uruguay, under that of the governor and biſhop of the new province. Don Manuel Aries was the firſt governor of Paraguay; and Don Diego Gongora, then in Spain, was appointed governor of Rio de la Plata.

Don Diego Gongora embarked for his government at Liſbon, where ſome private perſons having aſked leave to put ſome goods, in his name, on board the ſhip that was to carry him, he readily granted it, againſt the expreſs letter of his inſtructions; the ſame indulgence having been often granted by other governors, and no notice taken of it. But, whether he had enemies or rivals who narrowly watched all his motions, or that he proceeded too openly, he had ſcarce put to ſea, when he was impeached before the royal council of the Indies

Indies, which immediately dispatched a commissary, called Melone, to take informations against him, and proceed to try him, in case there appeared sufficient grounds to think him guilty.

MELONE, on his arrival at Buenos Ayres, found all the inhabitants charmed with their new governor; and was even given to understand, that, his errand having transpired, measures had been concerted to send him back, before he could perform it. Some days after, he and the jesuits quarrelled; on what account, I have not been able to discover; but as he, probably, behaved with extraordinary passion on the occasion, the inhabitants thought proper to take advantage of it to rid themselves of so disagreeable a guest. Some of them, therefore, went to father Perlino, rector of the college, and advised him to name a judge conservator; which, at the same time that it secured him against the attempts of Melone, from whom, they insinuated, he had every thing to fear, would disable this officer from proceeding against the governor. I shall speak elsewhere of this privilege of naming a conservator, and of the powers annexed to his office.

FATHER Perlino, too little versed in matters of this nature to distinguish between those conjunctures, in which his order might make use of this privilege granted by the popes, and authorized by the catholick kings in all their dominions, and those, in which it could not take place, followed the advice that was given him, not penetrating the views of those who gave it; he even did it without consulting his provincial, as he ought to have done; and, what was probably worse, named to that office, by the advice of the same persons, one of those who were most incensed against Melone. Be that as it will, the judge conservator immediately issued a decree against the commissary, which

which obliged him to return to Spain. But he was no sooner arrived there, than he complained of the rector to the council of the Indies, which, considering the decree of the judge conservator as an attempt on their authority, applied to the general of the jesuits for justice on Perlino, who had named him. The general immediately complied in the most ample manner. He disavowed the rector; deposed him; declared him incapable of any further superiority; and ordered him back to Peru. But those, who made a tool of him, did not escape with the bare mortification of seeing their conduct condemned in his. An order was sent to Buenos Ayres to take cognizance of this intrigue; and all those, who were found to have had a hand in it, were fined, to the amount, it is said, of eighty thousand gold crowns. During this prosecution, the province of Rio de la Plata was erected into a bishoprick.

Father Gonzalez, having been obliged to desist from his attempt to reconnoitre the Uruguay from its sources to its discharge into the Paraguay, applied himself, and with good success, to the establishment of some reduction on the banks of that part of it which he had discovered; and, in the year 1627, undertook to survey the province called *Tape*, situated between that of Uruguay and Brazil. This country is, properly speaking, a chain of mountains running two hundred leagues, from within eight days journey of the Uruguay to within fifteen leagues of the sea of Brazil. These mountains are divided by several vallies fit for pasture and every kind of grain, and intersected by numerous streams of excellent water.

The commonest bird in this country is a very pretty white one called *Güirape*, which signifies ringing bird, being remarkable for its note, which is extremely loud, and very like the sound of a bell.

 Among

Among the trees found in the forefts, there is a kind of palm tree fcarce bigger than the Indian rufh, whofe bark yields a thread equal in finenefs to the beft filk. The Indians make bow-ftrings of it. There are other palm trees here, near the fources of the river called Igai, fix fcore feet high, which differ from the generality of the trees, of the fame name, in this, that, as they grow, they produce tufts of branches in form of a crown; and thefe branches afterwards fall off of themfelves, leaving knots behind them, which harden to fuch a degree, that one would take them for bone rather than wood. The fruit of this tree is little inferior to that of the European palm tree; and, accordingly, the inhabitants live chiefly upon it for feveral months of the year.

THERE is another tree here ftill more fingular, but it is found too in other countries. It is called the *Efcapis*. They pretend, that after fun-rife there falls from it a very plentiful fhower, while all the trees about it are perfectly dry. To conclude, there are fome tranfparent pebbles in this country, which in Europe, it is faid, would be worth money.

BUT, perhaps, the greateft fingularity of the whole country is an amphibious animal pretty common, efpecially in all the marfhy places of the eaftern part of the country, that refembles a fheep, all to its having the teeth and claws of a tiger, and furpaffing that animal in fiercenefs and cruelty. Accordingly, it never appears without caufing a general confternation among the Indians, who have fcarce any method of avoiding its fury. It is to no purpofe to climb up a tree, when thefe terrible creatures fally out of their marfhes, which they generally do in large numbers; for they either root up the tree, in which they find any one has taken fhelter, or remain at the foot of it, till the wretch-

ed prisoners, exhausted with hunger, tumble down for want of strength to support themselves. When the indians have the good fortune to kill any of these creatures, they make of its skin a coat, called *Ao* in the Guarani language, which is likewise that of Tape. Perhaps this is the name of the animal itself, for we are not told what it is.

The Indians of Tape are a colony of the Guaranis, but a very ancient one, and the least vicious of any. They are naturally mild; and there has not been discovered, in all South America, a people bettter disposed to receive the light of the gospel, or more constant and zealous after receiving it. The love of liberty had inspired them with a great aversion to strangers, and they were too well intrenched in their mountains to be reduced by force. The apostles of Paraguay, however, met with no other difficulty in gaining them over to the Christian religion, than that of getting to them to preach it. Accordingly, the Tapes, for a long time past, have made so considerable a part of the reductions of the Uruguay, that their name is often given, indifferently, to all the christians that compose these establishments.

But, how well soever the Tapes were disposed to listen to father Gonzalez, he could spend no more time among them than what was requisite to reconnoitre their country; and this preciptitate return, it is probable, was occasioned by some sudden call for his assistance in the reductions already established. Be that as it will, these reductions were attacked, the year following, by a great number of infidels headed by an apostate cacique, and father Gonzalez and another jesuit gloriously lost their lives, with two other jesuits, rather than abandon their flocks in this emergency. A third jesuit was soon after surprized by another apostate cacique; and, after vari-

ous torments, ſtoned to death. But theſe unprovoked inſults were ſoon revenged. The new chriſtians, reinforced by a troop of Spaniſh horſe raiſed at the expence of a Portugueſe gentleman; a conſiderable party of Guarani Indians raiſed by father Boroa another jeſuit, ſettled at St. John of Corrientes; and four hundred Indians of thoſe under the conduct of ſome fathers of St. Francis, (the city of the Aſſumption having refuſed to give any aſſiſtance for the purpoſe) attacked the infidels in their turn; killed great numbers of them; made a great many priſoners; and diſperſed the reſt beyond a poſſibility of rallying to give any further uneaſineſs. Their next care was to recover the precious remains of the deceaſed martyrs, which were tranſlated to the Aſſumption, and there interred with all the marks of honour due to ſuch ſtrenuous aſſertors of the rights of mankind, and zealous preachers of the goſpel.

The peace procured by this victory was ſoon troubled by a more formidable enemy. The year following, the Mamelus made an irruption into the Guayra. The firſt reduction that felt their fury was that of the Incarnation. Moſt of the proſelytes that compoſed it diſperſed time enough to ſave themſelves; but a great number of Neophytes, employed at a diſtance in country labours, were carried off; ſo that there ſcarce remained any hopes of hindering this town from being entirely deſtroyed, when father Montayo poſted to it, and by his preſence and his diſcourſe put, in ſome meaſure, a ſtop to the conſternation that had ſeized the remaining inhabitants, whom he exhorted to take up arms, in order to reſcue their captive brethren; but he thought proper, that the fathers Mendoza and Domenecchi, their paſtors, ſhould firſt go with ſome of the principal men among them,

them, and see what they could obtain from these banditti by fair means.

THEY, therefore, immediately set out; but they no sooner appeared in sight of the camp, than they were saluted by a shower of arrows and musket balls, by which father Mendoza was slightly wounded, and one of the Neophytes killed. He made up, however, with his companion, to the Mamelus, who were so stunned at his resolution, that, few endeavouring to stop them, they at last penetrated to the commander of the gang. They told him, that, unless he consented to release the prisoners he had taken, and retire without doing any further mischief, he must expect to see all the Indians of the reductions upon his hands; and then finding him unwilling to part with his prey, went themselves and assembled the poor creatures, and carried them off unmolested, the whole camp appearing thunderstruck, in a manner, at so undaunted a proceeding.

THIS unexpected success encouraged father Montayo to pay the Mamelus a visit in his turn; and he threatened them with the anger of heaven, and the indignation of his catholick majesty, their sovereign, Portugal and all the Portuguese dominions being subject to Spain. But he spoke to men, that feared neither God nor king; and all the satisfaction he could obtain, was to hear orders immediately given to attack the reduction. This, however, was but a mere bravado; for the Mamelus soon turned another way, giving out, that they had no design but upon the wild Indians. Though father Montayo judged that little stress was to be laid upon this report, yet finding that it contributed greatly to quiet the Neophytes, he seemed to give credit to it. The Mamelus, however, did not appear again for a long time, and the

missionaries made the best use of this calm, to strengthen and extend their spiritual conquests. Among other new reductions, one was formed upon an eminence, which the natives call the cemetry of *Pay Zumo*, because, according to the ancient tradition already taken notice of, St. Thomas had interred there a great number of christians; for which reason this new reduction was called by the name of that holy apostle.

1629. By this time, the number of reductions in the provinces of Guayra and Uruguay, and on the banks of the Parana, amounted to twenty-one; but many of them were as yet in a state of infancy, and some even but just traced out. The christians of most were as yet but novices in the faith; and the number of the proselytes exceeded greatly that of the Neophytes. All, indeed, had renounced their grosser vices; but the force of education and custom made them from time to time relapse into practices, that kept their pastors perpetually in alarm. In short, though there was not a single reduction among them, that did not, now and then, produce examples of the most heroic virtue, none, except some of the most ancient, had acquired consistency enough to banish all apprehensions from the breasts of those who governed them. One of the greatest obstacles these fathers had to contend with, after they had brought these Indians together, was the ascendancy their pretended conjurers had gained over them. For these impostors, however ignorant, had often art enough to inveigle many, who were otherwise very well affected to the christian religion.

1630. In the year 1630, Don Lewis de Cespedez put into a port of Brazil, in order to repair from thence by land to the capital of Paraguay,

guay, of which he had been lately appointed governor. This route had been expressly forbid, for some years past, under the severest penalties, even to the supreme magistrates, lest the Spaniards should commit, on their journey, any disorders that might scandalize the Neophytes; but Don Lewis pretended to have a special licence for taking this road. It is, besides, certain, that the governors may, as often as they think proper, visit the reductions within their province; but, on such occasions, they are very cautious whom they chuse to wait upon them. Be that as it will, the new governor happened to be at St. Paul of Piratiningue at a time, that nine hundred Mamelus and two thousand Indians were preparing to break into the province of Guayra, under the conduct of Anthony Rasposo, one of their most famous commanders. The governor, after travelling by land a little further, embarked on a river, which brought him to the reduction of Loretto, where he made some stay; and father Montayo caused the greatest honours to be paid to him.

Don Lewis repaid these expressions of duty with very harsh language, which the missionaries received with great modesty, and without making the least reply. The governor, however, could not refuse his admiration to the order that reigned in this town; though, on father Montayo's applying to him for assistance against the Mamelus, whom he heard were already on their march, and had reason to think would pay him a visit, he told him he could not give him any.

Soon after father Mola, pastor of St. Anthony, having refused to restore to these banditti, a cacique that had made his escape from them, and taken refuge in that reduction, alledging, that, as the man was born free, and, besides, under the king's pro-

tection, that he could not, in honour or justice, deliver him up, they immediately fell upon his Indians; put to the sword all those who attempted to make any resistance; butchered, even at the foot of the altar, such as fled there for refuge; loaded the principal men with chains; and plundered the church. Some of them having entered the missionary's house, in hopes of finding a considerable booty there; on meeting with nothing but a threadbare soutane, and a few tattered shirts, shewed them to the Indians, telling them, they must be very foolish to take for masters, strangers who came into their country, merely because they had not wherewith to live in their own; that they would be much happier in Brazil, where they would want for nothing, and would not be obliged to maintain their pastors.

These, no doubt, were fine speeches to be made to people loaded with chains, and whose relations and countrymen had been but that instant butchered under their eyes. Accordingly, those, who spoke in this manner, soon perceived, that their promises were received with the contempt they deserved; and, thereupon, continued their violences. Father Mola in vain threw himself at the commander's feet; represented to him the innocence and simplicity of these poor Indians; conjured him by all that was most sacred, to set bounds to the fury of the soldiers; and, at last, threatened him with the indignation of heaven. He had often disarmed the most cruel canibals by his tears and his entreaties, but now found that it is much harder to make an impression on christians, who have once shut their eyes against the laws of God and man, than on barbarians and infidels. Having told these savages, that, after so many cruelties and profanations, there was scarce any room left

left to hope for their salvation, they answered him, that it was enough to be baptized to gain admittance into heaven; and that they would make their way into it, though God himself should oppose their entrance.

AFTER the departure of these miscreants, some of the prisoners they had taken found means to make their escape, and returned to join father Mola, and such of their brethren, as had time to take refuge in the woods. The father, they found amidst the ruins of his reduction; sunk in the deepest sorrow. However, he rouzed himself at the sight of them, and persuaded them to retire, along with him to the reduction of the Incarnation. But, after escaping the fury of the Mamelus, he was on the point of perishing by the hands of those for whose sake he had exposed himself to it. Several of the Indians took it into their heads, that he might have had a private understanding with these wretches; and having communicated their sentiments to others, they were about proceeding to extremities, when his mildness, and his arguments to prove how ill grounded their suspicions were, and the unshaken fidelity of the rest, who had not given into this error, luckily disarmed them. But, if he escaped this danger, it was only to fall into a much greater. A large body of idolatrous Indians, who knew nothing of the misfortune befallen the reduction of St. Anthony, happening to come there the day following, and not meeting with any thing but heaps of rubbish and dead bodies, immediately concluded, that he was the author of all the mischief; set out in the tracks of him and his company, in order to sacrifice him to their revenge; and missed him but by a few hours.

THE reduction of St. Michael lay much nearer to St. Anthony's, than that of the Incarnation; but

but, for that very reaſon, father Mola did not think proper to retreat to it, as moſt expoſed to the enemy; and the ſame conſideration induced the fathers Mendoza and Manſilla, who were ſtationed there, to adviſe their Neophytes, the moment they heard of what had happened at St. Anthony's, to withdraw to the Incanation; which, they repreſented to them, the Mamelus would not venture to attack, when they heard that ſo many men were aſſembled there, all upon their guard, and prepared to give them a warm reception. Several approved this meaſure; and father Manſilla, for fear they ſhould change their opinion, immediately conducted them there. He then returned to St. Michael; and, as he could not prevail on the Indians he had left behind him, to follow their townſmen, he perſuaded them to take ſhelter in the woods. As to him and his colleague, they remained in the reduction with two young chriſtians, to ſee the end of this ſtorm, though in no ſmall danger from their own flock. The ſuſpicions firſt formed againſt father Mola had, by this time, it ſeems, gained ſeveral reductions. And it is more than probable, that the Mamelus had inſtilled them; ſince they were known, for certain, to have put the ſame ſtratagem in practice on many other occaſions, in order to incenſe the Indians againſt their moſt zealous defenders. Be that as it will, a detachment was immediately ſent from the Incarnation to St. Michael, to withdraw ſuch of the inhabitants as might have returned there from the woods; but it was unfortunately intercepted by a conſiderable body of Mamelus, who threw every man of thoſe that compoſed it, into chains, and then marched to St. Michael, which they reduced to a heap of rubbiſh. On this occaſion father Mendoza was wounded with an arrow. The alarm now became general all over the province of Guaaray.

-aray. However, as the reduction of Jesus-Maria, where Guiravara, a powerful cacique, and formerly a cruel enemy of the christians, had remained since his conversion, was very populous, the Neophytes flattered themselves, that the Mamelus would not attack it; and flocked to it, from all quarters, as to a secure asylum. But in this they greatly deceived themselves, for want of knowing, that a second body of these banditti had taken the field. Emmanuel Morato, who commanded this body, approached Jesus-Maria so secretly, that the Neophytes there heard nothing of him till he was on the point of attacking it; and, even then, knew so little of him and his intentions, that they sent to him to know whether he came as a friend or an enemy.

Morato made no answer to this message but by loading with chains, those who brought it. Upon this, father Maceta, pastor of this reduction, imagining that the commander would respect his character as a priest, though he paid no regard to his person, went out to meet him in his sacerdotal habits, with a crucifix carried before him. But this religious appearance, which, in the main, was not, perhaps, altogether so seasonable, served only to bring affronts upon him.

An Indian cacique who accompanied him paid dearer for his courage; for, on his telling Morato, how much he was scandalized at this behaviour of christians to a priest, he was fired at by a Mamelus, and fell dead at the missionaries feet; and the father had like to have shared the same fate, on reproaching the brute who had fired the shot with his wanton cruelty.

At last, the enemy entered the reduction without any further opposition; and soon reduced it to the same condition, in which their fellow robbers had left those of St. Anthony and St. Michael.

Many

Many of them attempted to offer violence to some christian virgins, as chose to be butchered rather than yield to their brutal passion. Such of the Indians, who had not saved themselves by an early flight, were killed, or loaded with chains; and Guiravara and his wife happened to be of the number. The pastors of two other reductions had set out, in the mean time, with the Neophytes under their care, to the assistance of their distressed brethren; but they arrived too late to do any thing but pursue the Mamelus, now retiring with their captives, and rescue from them some of these unhappy creatures, who were brought to the Incarnation, where it was resolved, that the fathers Maceta and Mansilla should follow the enemy to Brazil, in order to complain, to the captain-general of that kingdom, of the hostilities committed by the subjects of his government, in a country belonging to the catholick king his sovereign.

These fathers, accordingly, set out the same day, and soon came up with the Mamelus. At the sight of their Neophytes, chained together like galley-slaves, father Maceta could no longer contain his zeal and tenderness. He ran up to embrace them, in spite of the cock'd muskets with which he was threatened, and vollies of blows poured upon him at every step. At last, raising his voice, he beseeched the commander to restore to him his dear children, whom he had engendered in Jesus Christ, or admit him to carry the same chain with them. But his entreaties served only to procure him the treatment due to a fool and a madman. One of the officers, however, consented to let him have some of the prisoners, who had fallen to his share, on the father's promising him a ransom for them.

Encouraged by this dawn of success, the father turned another way; and, putting about his neck a chain,

chain, to which ſeveral Neophytes, and, among the reſt, Guiravara and his ſpouſe were faſtened, he declared he would not part with it, till he obtained their liberty; and, addreſſing himſelf to the cacique, who before baptiſm had uſed father Maceta very cruelly, kiſſing his chain, he told him, that he was overjoyed to be able to ſhew him on this occaſion, that he harboured no reſentment of his ill uſage, and aſſured him, that he would expoſe himſelf to every danger, in order to procure him his liberty. So many objects, capable of melting the hardeſt hearts, might, one would imagine, make an immediate impreſſion on the officer, to whom theſe captives belonged; but they for ſome time ſerved only to irritate him, and the miſſionary was more than once in danger of having his brains blown out on his refuſing to retire. His conſtancy, however, got the better, at laſt, of the cruelty of this officer, who gave him up Guiravara, his wife, and ſix other priſoners, whom the father immediately ſent to the Incarnation under an eſcort.

Father Maceta then returned to father Manſilla; and both, accompanied only by three Indians, continued to follow their priſoners at ſome diſtance, without any thing to live upon, but ſuch wild fruits as they could gather in the woods, or making any ſtop but what was neceſſary to aſſiſt thoſe, whom their conductors abandoned, when they could drag them no further. Theſe were ſick women, and perſons advanced in years, who in vain claimed the rights of nature, and the ſervice of their huſbands and children; and were all ſo worn down, that many of them, it is probable, who, more dead than alive, made a ſhift to crawl into the woods to look for ſomething to ſupport nature, periſhed there by wild beaſts. The two miſſionaries baptized the catechumens, and confeſſed the chriſtians; and comforted them all, by placing before their

their eyes the celeſtial rewards, with which their patience and reſignation would be ſpeedily recompenſed.

In this manner the fathers travelled till they reached St. Paul of Piratiningue, where, though the jeſuits had ſtill a college, they found it impoſſible to make them ſtay ever ſo ſhort a time to recruit their forces exhauſted by ſo many days conſtant faſting and fatigue; for as they immediately ſaw, that they could expect no redreſs from the magiſtrates there, who enjoyed but a mere ſhadow of authority, they made what haſte they could to Rio Janeiro. As ſoon as they arrived there, they preſented two petitions to the ſovereign council, to obtain the enlargement of their Neophytes, and a ſafeguard againſt any future attacks upon their properties and perſons. But all the anſwer they could obtain was, that the captain general of Brazil could alone grant their requeſt; upon which they ſet out for the bay of All-Saints.

Don Diego Lewis Oliveyra, governor and captain general of this kingdom, received them very kindly; acknowledged the juſtice of their demands; and appointed a commiſſary to repair with them to St. Paul of Piratiningue, in order to ſee ample and immediate ſatisfaction done them; but, as Don Diego ſeemed to have no thoughts of giving this commiſſary a ſufficient force to exact obedience to his commands, the miſſionaries conjectured, that he named him merely for form ſake. Don Oliveyra had two reaſons for not going on this occaſion, the lengths he otherwiſe would have done. The firſt was, that the Dutch, already maſters of the coaſt of Fernambuc, threatened to over-run Brazil, and all his forces were little enough to make head againſt them; the other, that the fifteen thouſand captives, whom the Mamelus had carried

carried off with them from the province of Guayra having been already sold in the different ports of Brazil, and many of them to persons in office, he was afraid of disobliging some powerful families, by ordering them to be set at liberty, especially at a time, when he thought himself under a necessity of maintaining a good intelligence with all the inhabitants.

THESE reasons, after all, were by many persons judged insufficient to justify Oliveyra's passiveness in a conjuncture, where the honour of the Portugueze nation, and the interest of religion, were equally concerned; and several have since attributed the success of the Dutch, in Brazil, to the countenance afforded to the Mamelus; the avarice of those, who made a hand of the depopulation of the churches of Paraguay; and the cruelty, with which so many thousand christians, carried off into slavery, were treated; in so much that numbers of them perished merely through want, excess of labour, and ill usage. On this occasion, a Portuguese gentleman, called Jerom Vega, advised father Maceta to wait, in person, on his catholic majesty with an account of these enormities, and even offered to supply him with money for the voyage; but the missionary, having received certain intelligence of the Mamelus preparing to make a second irruption into the province of Guayra, thought proper to return, with his companion to their churches. In their way to Rio Janeiro, they had the good fortune to recover twelve of their Neophytes; but, on their arrival at St. Paul, they saw themselves shut up in a kind of prison.

THE commissary of the captain-general, who had staid behind them at the bay of All-Saints, arrived soon after; but had scarce entered upon the execution of his office, when a formal declaration made

made by the inhabitants, that they would suffer themselves to be unbaptized, rather than permit him to proceed any further, and an attempt made upon his life, determined him to slip away as soon as he could from so lawless a crew of banditti. On his departure, however, the two jesuits, whom the rector of the college had reclaimed, were released; and immediately set out for their missions, where they had the further mortification of finding numbers of their Neophytes more persuaded than ever, that they had assembled them merely to betray them into the hands of their most cruel enemies.

It was to no purpose these fathers put them in mind of the great trouble and expence, fatigue and danger, they had undergone, to preserve them from the fury, or deliver them out of the hands of the Portugueze of Brazil; it was in vain they asked them, what interest their pastors could have in betraying them into the hands of strangers, from whom they had nothing to expect. Despair had rendered them deaf to all these arguments. Many of them were on the point of revolting openly, and even retaliating, on their pastors, the ill usage they had received from their enemies, when Guiravara took publickly their defence, though he already began to grow cool in the christian faith, which, it is said, he soon after entirely renounced. He could not hear what was alledged against the missionaries, without treating it as the blackest calumny. He, even, went from reduction to reduction, in order to publish his obligations to father Maceta, who had exposed himself to every thing, in order to rescue him from slavery; adding, that it was neither this father's fault, nor that of father Mansilla, if all the captives had not recovered their liberty.

1630-31,

1630-31. About this time, the superiors of the jesuits were obliged to withdraw the two missionaries they had stationed in the valley of Calchaqui, and who, though they scarce made any conversions, were of great service in preventing the Spaniards from attacking its inhabitants, and thereby bringing upon themselves an enemy they were seldom able to cope with. Accordingly, these fathers no sooner disappeared, than the Spaniards fell upon them without any provocation; as though the poor natives, on ceasing to be their enemies, were obliged to become their slaves. But these violators of the rights of mankind soon received the retribution due to such wickedness. At first indeed, they defeated a body of Calchaquis, reinforced by a considerable number of Indians under command, who, after killing their masters, had taken refuge among them; but they were afterwards worsted in their turn. A new citadel built to awe these Indians, and the town of London, were taken and destroyed by them; the neighbourhood of Salta plundered; and the province of Tucuman laid open to the incursions of an enemy who, for ten years together, kept it in continual alarms.

The jesuits flattered themselves, that they should speedily be indemnified for the obstacle, which the Spaniards had by this war so wantonly raised to the introducing of the gospel elsewhere. In the vast forests that lie between the Parana and the Uruguay, some of these missionaries had lately discovered a small nation called *Caaiguas*, that is to say inhabitants, of the forests. The Caaiguas have no fixed habitation, but are constantly roving up and down in small parties. They build little slight huts, covered with branches, in the places where they make any stay; but they never lay up any provisions, depending entirely on their arrows, with which they kill, indifferently, both water and

land game. When this reſource fails them, they devour worms, piſmires, vipers, and ſuch other reptiles, with which the country abounds. They likewiſe eat tigers, when they can kill any; and monkeys, whom they purſue to the tops of the higheſt trees, which they climb as nimbly as the monkeys themſelves. But they often loſe their pains, for the monkeys, when the Indians think they have made ſure of them, leap from one tree to another; and that, too, loaded with their young ones. Their beſt food is the fleſh of an animal, probably the ſame with the Anta already deſcribed. They make nothing of grappling theſe animals and wreſtling with them, till they have thrown them down, when they knock out their brains. They likewiſe make great uſe of wild honey; with which they make a kind of hydromel, of ſo hot a nature, that it is ſaid to make them inſenſible to the greateſt cold. The reaſon given for this nation being ſo thin, is that the tigers devour numbers of their women and children.

As to the perſons of the Caaiguas, they are, in general, hump-backed, and bow-necked. Some of them, however, are tolerably well made; and their women ſcarce yield in whiteneſs to the ſpaniſh, which is, no doubt, owing to their reſiding conſtantly in the thickeſt parts of their foreſts. The men wear nothing but a few ſcraps of ſkins, which ſcarce hide any thing. The women make uſe of a kind of apron made in form of a net, with nettle thread, that reaches from the waiſt to the knees. It is aſſured, that the ſkins of theſe Indians harden to ſuch a degree, that they paſs unhurt, like ſerpents, through the moſt thorny buſhes. Their language is very hard to learn, and their pronunciation very harſh and diſagreeable. It is a kind of hiſſing, ſo little articulate, that one would imagine their words did nothing but roll in their throats.

THESE

THESE Indians, after all, are very peaceable, though so wild, that the Spaniards have never been able to civilize one of them. All those, who fell into their hands, suffered themselves to starve, rather than take any nourishment; and, while they lived, did nothing but foam like madmen, and bite the chains they were bound with. Even the missionaries, who found means to draw some of them into the reductions, could not, with all their care and attention, keep them alive for any time. The minute they saw themselves cooped up in a town, they fell into a melancholy, which soon turned to a consumption. In this sad condition, however, good usage rendered them docile, and the missionaries improved the happy change to give them all the instruction they were capable of receiving, and then baptize them. But none of them survived this ceremony for any long time. As to founding reductions in their forests, it was judged impracticable by many missionaries, who penetrated into the center of them with infinite danger and fatigue. One of these missionaries, however, having prevailed upon eighteen of them to follow him, though he took infinite pains to qualify them for baptism, was obliged to defer it to their last moments; for, with all his tenderness, he found it impossible to save one of them. There are, in the midst of the Caaiguas, other Indians, who, though known by the same name, speak a different language, and have no communication with them. They are said to be warlike; but, in fact, they resemble beasts of prey more than human creatures; for all their exploits consist in surprizing travellers, whom they murder and devour. When they, themselves, happen to be taken, they behave like the Caaiguas in the same situation, and will not suffer any wounds they have received to be dressed.

As the miſſionaries could obtain no ſafeguard for their churches, they were greatly ſurprized, that the Mamelus ſo long delayed paying them a ſecond viſit. But it ſoon appeared, that theſe banditti waited only to conclude an alliance with the *Tupis*, the moſt barbarous of the Brazilian Indians. Accordingly, they attacked, the year following, the reduction of St. Paul, whoſe inhabitants were ſo little upon their guard, that father Suarez, their paſtor, knew nothing of their approach, till the commander entered his houſe piſtol in hand. The father, at the ſight of him, fell proſtrate at his feet; and beſeeched him, with tears in his eyes, to ſpare a parcel of poor chriſtians, who had done nothing to deſerve the chains he had prepared for them. But the brute anſwered him only, by clapping his piſtol to his breaſt, which the miſſionary calmly opened; telling him, that he was ſatisfied to lay down his life for his flock, and conjuring him in the name of Jeſus Chriſt to content himſelf with it. This ſpeech ſeemed to make ſome impreſſion on the officer, and he went out without ſpeaking a ſingle word. But it was only to give orders for putting to the ſword all thoſe who ſhould make the leaſt reſiſtance; and theſe orders were but too punctually obeyed. He, then, came back to father Suarez; gave him great marks of eſteem; but would not permit him to take leave of his beloved Neophytes, ſeveral of whom, however, made their eſcape and fled to the reductions of St. Francis Xavier and of Jeſus-Maria lately eſtabliſhed in the neighbourhood of the caſcade of Guibay, where they met the inhabitans of the Incarnation, who, having received timely notice of the enemy's approach, abandoned their habitations to avoid them.

FATHER Montayo no ſooner heard of the Mamelus having entered the province of Guayra, than he

he made all the haſte in his power to the aſſiſtance of the reductions moſt expoſed to their fury. But, on his finding no inhabitants either in that of St. Paul, or that of the Incarnation, he thought the beſt thing he could do, was to put himſelf at the head of all the fugitive and wandering Neophytes he could meet with, and conduct them towards Villarica. But he ſoon heard that the inhabitants of this place were before-hand with him, and had picked up all thoſe who had eſcaped the Mamelus, and put them to work for their private benefit. Upon this, he immediately repaired to Villarica; complained bitterly to the magiſtrates of this injuſtice; and when he could obtain no redreſs from them, diſpatched father Diaz Tano to the Aſſumption to demand it of Don Lewis Ceſpedez the governor, and conjure him to take ſome effectual meaſures for the ſafety of the reductions.

Don Lewis would ſcarce liſten to the miſſionary. He even told him, he had heard from Villarica, that the jeſuits made a great noiſe about trifles; adding, that they every where made themſelves very odious. The father retired without making any reply to theſe diſagreeable compliments; but that day, or the day following, preſented a petition to him, in the name of his catholic majeſty, to exert himſelf in behalf of the chriſtians of Guayra. But Don Lewis would not ſo much as anſwer it. This was not the only proof of ill will, which this governor had given the reductions. Some time before, he had iſſued an order forbidding all perſons, without exception, to croſs the Parana, in their way from the province of Uruguay to that of Guayra, or from the latter to the former; and thereby the miſſionaries, and even their provincial, often obliged to hurry from province to province on the moſt preſſing affairs, were laid under

a neceſſity of taking a round of one hundred leagues; nor could all the repreſentations made to him on the inconveniencies neceſſarily attending ſuch long journeys, at a time when the province of Guayra was over-run by the Mamelus, make him conſent to the leaſt qualification or exception. He even had given ſome very broad hints, that he intended to ſubmit, to encommenderoes, all the Indians directed by the fathers of the company. It is, however, probable, that he never attempted to put this deſign into execution, as he ſoon received a check by the audience of Charças declaring this edict of his prejudicial to his catholic majeſty's ſervice.

The provincial of the jeſuits had no ſooner received this declaration, than he immediately ſet out for the province of Guayra. On his arrival at Villarica he received advice, that the Mamelus had again taken the field, and were at the reduction of St. Francis Xavier, where he prevailed on ſome of the Spaniards to follow him to the aſſiſtance of the inhabitants. But they came too late; the enemy had already entirely demoliſhed it, and were now entrenched on its ruins, after loading all the chriſtians with irons. The Spaniards, however, attacked them with great reſolution, till one of them was killed and another wounded, when they thought proper to ſound the retreat. Father Sylveira, who governed this church, behaved with more conſtancy; for he ſtruck to the Mamelus, till, out of fifteen hundred families of which his flock conſiſted, he had the good fortune to ſave upwards of five hundred perſons. In the mean time, ſo great a terror had ſeized the inhabitants of St. Joſeph, ſituated at no great diſtance from St Francis Xavier, that it was found impoſſible to quiet them. Several diſperſed into the woods; the reſt, to the number of four hundred, were, fortunately,

tunately, kept together by the cares of the provincial; and, with the remains of St. Francis Xavier, formed into a new reduction.

1631. The provincial, after this, repaired to the canton of Tayaoba, which, it was reported, the enemy were preparing to attack; and, accordingly, he had scarce arrived there, when he received certain accounts of their approach. Upon this, therefore, he immediately assembled the missionaries of three very populous and flourishing reductions situated in this country, in order to consult with them, what was to be done in so pressing a danger. The opinions were divided. Some were for exhorting the Neophytes to defend themselves bravely, in hopes that even the wild Indians would not refuse to assist them against a common enemy. This, they said, was the only way left to prevent the entire dissipation of this infant church. The rest represented the little reason there was to expect, that Indians, ill armed and quite undisciplined, should be able to make a stand against veteran troops, provided with fire arms, and headed by able officers; and whom, besides, an useless resistance could only serve to exasperate; that it would, therefore, be more adviseable to conduct all those, that could be prevailed upon to remove, to some other province; and that, how small soever their number might happen to be, a great deal fewer would be lost this way, than by venturing to resist an enemy, whom there was so little probability of their being able to withstand.

This last advice was approved by the provincial, who, accordingly, gave immediate orders for conducting all the Neophytes into the neighbourhood of the great fall of the Parana, that, in case of pursuit, they might be able, by just crossing the river, to make a barrier of it, which it would be an

easy matter to defend against the Mamelus. This done, he assembled the Neophytes themselves; exhorted them not to separate from their pastors, who, they must be sensible, had their welfare greatly at heart. He then set forward himself to prepare every thing for their reception; but was scarce set out, when, the danger growing greater and greater every moment, it was thought necessary to follow him. The missionaries hitherto had some reason to hope, that all the christians were willing to follow them; but they had no sooner given orders to begin the march, than it appeared they had greatly imposed upon themselves. Several refused to come out of their houses at any rate; and a great many, who had already set out, were so frightened at the badness of the roads, that they returned back again. Some openly revolted; and Father Mendoza, was on the point of being murdered in endeavouring to stop one of the most incensed. But the poor creatures, soon paid dear for their disobedience, as all those, who remained in their reductions, or attempted to find out other retreats, than those agreed upon by the missionaries, fell into the hands of the Mamelus, or were taken by some wild Indians, who butchered some of them, and made slaves of the rest. Some Spaniards even were not ashamed to take advantage of the distress of these churches, and express more pleasure at their destruction, than they had shewn uneasiness at their establishment.

Those, who retreated with the missionaries, made such good speed, that, though the Mamelus pursued them, none fell into their hands but a few laggers. On this occasion, these banditti plundered the inhabitants of St. Peter, and the Conception, through which they passed; but carried off none but two women of some note, these Indians having the character of not being fit for service. Father

Salazar,

Salazar, however, who had the direction of the reduction where this act of violence was committed, had like to have paid very dear for it. The Indians thought proper to make him responsible for it; and some of the most furious fell upon him, while he was saying mass; threatened to kill him in case he did not oblige the Mamelus to give up their prey; stript him of his sacerdotal robes; tore his gown off his back; plundered his house; and even attempted to wrest out of his hands the sacred vessels, so that he at last found himself under a necessity of retiring through the woods, accompanied by two children only, in order to join the other missionaries, who, like himself, had been despoiled of their flocks; and many of whom had been left without a single Neophyte.

He found them overwhelmed with grief, and in the most absolute want of every thing; without a single christian that did not weep the loss of a father or a mother, a wife or a husband, a son or a daughter, murdered or loaded with chains before their eyes. The most pressing want was that of provisions; they directly sowed the little grain they had saved, while the provincial went in search of more immediate assistance. But they might as well have spared themselves this trouble; for two expresses soon arrived, one on the heels of the other, with an account, that an army of the Mamelus had made its appearance in the neighbourhood of Villarica; that another swarm of Banditti had issued from the south coast of Brazil; and that even the spanish towns and settlements were threatened with a visit from them.

As this account agreed with what a Mamelus had some time before told one of the missionaries, father Montayo, superior of the missions, sent to summon the commandant of Villarica, in the King's name, and in virtue of his majesty's orders, to

send

send him immediate assistance; and, on his receiving for answer, that it was not possible to give him any, he gave orders for evacuating the reductions of St. Ignatius and Loretto, the only still subsisting in the province of Guayra, and the first that had been founded there. These towns might compare with the most flourishing among the Spanish cities in Paraguay; and even surpassed them in the beauty and largeness of their churches. As to the inhabitants themselves, they were not to be distinguished from the old christians, but by their superior innocence and piety. They had great herds of black cattle, bred from some which their missionaries had brought from very distant places; all their lands were well cultivated; they raised cotton in great quantities, so as not only to have enough for their own use, but wherewith to make large donations to such reductions, as were not yet in a condition to procure themselves a sufficient quantity of that useful article; and even to poor Spaniards; and there was the greatest reason to hope, that the other reductions of the province would soon obtain the same degree of perfection.

But this fine appearance, after giving so much joy to the authors of it, was now become a foundation for equal concern, as they could not but apprehend, that these Neophytes would expose their lives and liberties to the greatest danger rather than abandon such fine establishments, and the fruits of so many years labour, which they now were just beginning to taste, in order to look out for an exile in a remote country; and this, too, without more than a bare probability of being able to reach it, though with the greatest certainty, in a manner, of being reduced on their arrival there, to the utmost misery and distress. How great, therefore, must the surprize of these fathers have

been, when, on the very firſt propoſal they made to the Neophytes of preparing to part with every thing they could not conveniently carry away along with them, they unanimouſly anſwered, "we are indebted to you, fathers, for the ineſtimable bleſſing of being chriſtians, and we ſtand in need of your aſſiſtance to continue ſo; therefore, where-ever you go, we will chearfully follow. If hunger, thirſt, and fatigue, and the other inconveniences inſeparable from ſo long a journey, prove fatal to our aged fathers and mothers, our wives and little ones, we ſhall comfort ourſelves with the thoughts of their having expoſed themſelves to theſe dangers, difficulties, and diſtreſſes, merely to preſerve their religion; and that God himſelf will be their reward. In fine, ſhould we come to want ſupport and refreſhment for our bodies, the bread of angels, which we are not afraid to be deprived of, as long as you remain with us, will give us ſtrength and courage to encounter every evil."

These ſentiments were not the effect of a tranſitory fervour; for the proper ſignal of departure had no ſooner been given in the two reductions, than all the inhabitants ſtript their churches and houſes, with a holy inſenſibility, of every thing they could reſcue from the rapacity of their enemies. This done, they embarked upon the Paranapane, which ſoon brought them into the Parana; and then deſcended this laſt as far as the great fall, in ſpite of all the inhabitants of Ciudad Real could do to retain them in their neighbourhood. All the Indians of the other reductions, whom their Paſtors could prevail upon not to ſtay behind, had either joined them already, or arrived ſoon after; and the whole number amounted to two thouſand five hundred families.

But

But the pleaſure the miſſionaries muſt have felt, at having conducted them ſo far, was greatly allayed by the miſery to which they ſaw them reduced, and the remembrance of thoſe left behind, who, they muſt know, were expoſed to much greater; nor was it long before their grief received a conſiderable addition from a certain report, that the Mamelus, on finding the reductions of Loretto and Ignatius evacuated, had reſolved to purſue the fugitives; and were, accordingly, making ſuch forced marches to overtake them, that it was impoſſible to prevent their doing it, without making a barrier of a great caſcade, above which they were now aſſembled; an undertaking, which required a great deal of time; and was, beſides, attended with a great many difficulties.

The greateſt difficulty was that of conveying boats enough through the fall to anſwer the purpoſes of the tranſmigrants when arrived at the bottom of it; and, next, that of conducting ſo great a number of men and women of all ages, and ſo many ſick perſons, for thirty leagues together, before they could reach the plain, through the moſt inhoſpitable country. But there was no time to loſe in deliberation. In this preſſing neceſſity, therefore, it was reſolved to abandon the boats to the current, and they were all daſhed to pieces; ſeveral Neophytes were drowned; others, ſunk under the fatigues of an eight days march, at one time, over ſands expoſed to the fiery rays of a perpendicular ſun, at another, over rugged rocks, bordered with precipices, where every falſe ſtep proved fatal to the unhappy traveller. They were all, beſides, heavily laden; ſome with the baggage, and others, with the ſick; the women with their little ones; and the miſſionaries, with their chapels and paſtoral ſolicitude. Accordingly, they all arrived more dead than alive at the end of their journey,

ney, where to increaſe their diſtreſs, they ſoon fell ſhort of proviſions, though the reductions on the Parana had ſent them all the refreſhments they could poſſibly collect.

This ſcarcity made it impoſſible to remain here any longer, ſo that, after a few days repoſe, they found themſelves obliged to begin a new march. To render it the eaſier, the miſſionaries divided them into four bodies, one of which had orders to coaſt the Parana; two others, to direct their courſe through the woods on both ſides of the river, towards the reductions eſtabliſhed on the Acaray and the Iguazu; of the fourth, which conſiſted of thoſe who were no longer in a condition to walk, ſome were embarked on boats ſent them by the reductions juſt now mentioned; but the greater number, for want of room, were obliged to be left behind on both ſides of the great fall, where, for upwards of four months, they had nothing but wild fruits to live on. Thoſe, however, who took advantage of the boats, were rather more unfortunate, as theſe boats were ſo ſmall, and withal ſo deeply laden, that numbers of them overſet; by means of which ſeveral of the paſſengers were drowned, and a great part of their little cargoes entirely loſt. Upon this, therefore, they bethought themſelves of making rafts with canes; but they made them ſo ill, that moſt of them ſunk with every thing that had been committed to them. Afflicting, however, as theſe loſſes were, the faith of the Neophytes triumphed over them.

It does not appear, that any of thoſe, who travelled by land, periſhed in their journey. But when they were all united, ſome in the reduction of the nativity, on the Acaray; and the reſt, in that of St. Mary Major, on the Iguazu; they increaſed the famine, that raged there before their arrival, in conſequence of a bad harveſt; and this famine

ſoon

ſoon brought on a general ſickneſs, which, in both reductions, carried off eleven hundred ſouls, and determined thoſe who ſurvived to diſperſe into the woods, in ſearch of roots and wild fruits, where a great many of them periſhed by want, it not being in the power of their conductors, who themſelves wanted every thing, to give them any other aſſiſtance, than that of preparing them to make a good end.

At length, the mortality ceaſed; and the miſſionaries found, that out of one hundred thouſand ſouls, of which the church of Guayra was compoſed, there now remained with them but twelve thouſand. Father Montoya formed two reductions with theſe melancholy remains, near a little river called *Iubaburrus*, which flows from the eaſt into the Parana, and gave them the names of *Loretto* and *St. Ignatius*. But, as it was impoſſible to till or ſow any lands, on account of the more immediate neceſſity of building houſes for ſhelter, he bought ten thouſand oxen, with the money allowed by way of ſalary to the miſſionaries of Guayra, and the proceeds of ſuch effects ſaved out of the reductions of that province, as the Neophytes could do without.

The Spaniards, who had hitherto conſidered the reductions of this province, as little contributing to the ſecurity of their other ſettlements in the province of Guayra againſt the fury of the Mamelus, now began to ſee their miſtake, when it was too late to repair it. Their own territories were ſoon covered with theſe Banditti, who every where drew after them large armies of infidels; and, when theſe hell-hounds could no longer find any new chriſtians to make ſlaves of, they fell upon the country ſeats and, villages; and, afterwards, utterly deſtroyed Cuidad and Villarica, in ſpite of all the endeavours of the biſhop of the Aſſumption, who came in perſon to intercede for them. Part of the

inhabitants

inhabitants took refuge on the Paraguay, and the reſt went in ſearch of an aſylum, even among their enemies. We ſhall ſpeak, in another place, of the New Villarica, afterwards built by the inhabitants of the old.

1632. THE year following, the Calchaquis, having been defeated by the Spaniards in ſeveral rencounters, prevailed on the jeſuits to obtain a peace for them, though they had obliged themſelves, by the moſt execrable oaths, never to give quarters to any Spaniards, except the fathers of the company, who, they ſaid, had never done them any harm, but had, on the contrary, always zealouſly defended their liberty and the honour of their wives. But this calm was of very ſhort duration. The barbarians ſoon renewed their hoſtilities, burning and plundering all before them; ſo that the viceroy of Peru found himſelf under the neceſſity of ſending ſome forces to Tucuman againſt them. But, tho' theſe troops put a ſtop to their courſes, they made no change in their ſentiments. The jeſuits, on their ſide, could neither aſſure them, that, in caſe they became chriſtians, no attempts would be made on their liberty; nor yet perſuade the Spaniards, that it was their real intereſt to authorize them to give them ſuch aſſurances; an obſtinacy the more ſurprizing, as the Spaniards were very far from being always in a condition to repreſs theſe Indians.

BUT what ſerved moſt to ſignalize this year, was the ſurprizing converſion of all the inhabitants of the province of Tape, which we have before taken notice of. Not only they invited the miſſionaries, and gave them the kindeſt reception; but ſeveral, to have a better title to their aſſiſtance, had already formed themſelves into reductions, and built churches and houſes to receive them. Theſe eſtabliſhments, however, were ſoon brought into great danger,

danger, by the attachment which ſome of the converted caciques ſtill retained to their concubines; and, though, in the end, they got the better of this ſhock, it may not be amiſs to ſay ſomething of the difficulties which often perplexed the miſſionaries in caſes of the like nature.

I ALREADY obſerved, that, among the Guarani nations, every cacique had a right to take as many wives as he could maintain. Now, though it was an eaſy matter to perſuade thoſe, who were ſincerely diſpoſed to embrace the chriſtian religion, to confine themſelves to one wife, it was not ſo eaſy to determine, whether they ſhould be obliged to keep her whom they had firſt married, or be permitted to chuſe her they liked beſt among thoſe, with whom they actually cohabited. It is well known, that divines differ in this point; for which reaſon the miſſionaries, for a long time, followed the opinion, that each of them reſpectively thought was beſt grounded. At length, the ſuperiors judging it highly proper to eſtabliſh in theſe churches one uniform rule of conduct in an affair of ſo much importance, applied to the ſovereign Pontiff, to know how they ſhould govern themſelves for the future.

FATHER de Lugo, in the memorial he drew up for this purpoſe, repreſented to his holineſs, that the Guarani caciques conſidered their wives, rather as ſervants, than as companions; that they diſmiſſed them without ceremony, on the leaſt diſlike; that they very often kept ſeveral together; and, ſometimes, even the mothers and the daughters; that it was uſual with them to make preſents of their wives to their friends and vaſſals, and take them back again when they thought proper; in fine, that ſome of them, on leaving one place to ſettle in another, left their wives behind them, to avoid the trouble of removing them, and took new ones in

the places where they ſtopt. From theſe premiſes father de Lugo concluded, that there was no marriage among theſe Indians; and alledged, beſides, ſeveral reaſons, why it would be dangerous to oblige them, on their converſion, to abide by the women, with whom they had firſt cohabited.

THE firſt reaſon was the difficulty of fixing on the woman, with whom they had firſt cohabited, as it was very probable they might not give a true anſwer, when interrogated on this head. The ſecond, that this firſt wife might poſſibly have been the firſt wife of another. The third, that theſe Indians, after having been married, in the face of the church, were often known to neglect, for another, the woman they had been obliged to acknowledge as their wife, becauſe they did not love her. The fourth, that the obligation of confining themſelves to the woman, with whom they had firſt cohabited, appeared ſo ſevere, that, on that account alone, ſeveral had refuſed to embrace the chriſtian religion. In fine, that, in the marriages of the Guaranis, there was neither contract nor any other ceremony, by which the wife might be diſtinguiſhed from the concubine. The Pope's anſwer was, that the two opinions, in the caſe propoſed, being equally probable, there was no occaſion for a diſpenſation to follow either; and that the miſſionaries ſhould act, on ſuch occaſions, in the manner they judged propereſt to ſecure the converſion of the infidels; and this rule has been ever ſince obſerved.

IN that part of the country, which lies to the eaſt of the Paraguay, and extends from that river to the Parana, where this laſt takes a turn towards the North-eaſt, there is a chain of mountains that pours down a great number of rivers, ſome of which fall into the Paraguay, and the reſt into the Parana. But thoſe which flow eaſtwards have ſo

gentle a fall, that their motion is ſcarce diſcernible; whereas the others, tumbling from a greater height, are not only diſtinguiſhable by the rapidity of their courſe, but by the great quantity of mud which they carry from the marſhes they ruſh through, and with which they render the waters of the Paraguay turbid to a conſiderable diſtance. Beſides, they often overflow their banks; and, then, the whole country reſembles a vaſt ſea, with no other bounds but the mountains. This country is full of trees, diſtilling a gum which the inhabitants form into balls, ſo light and elaſtick, that they ſerve to play with. But what renders them ſtill more valuable, is a virtue they are ſaid to poſſeſs of curing the dyſentery. Several of theſe balls have been brought to Spain.

THE heart of this country, which lies between the 19th and 22d degrees of South latitude, is inhabited by a people called *Itatines*. Theſe Indians ſpoke the ſame language with the Guaranis, and ſeemed to be of the ſame origin, though, at the ſame time we are ſpeaking of, they kept up very little communication with them. They were extremely vigorous and nimble; and running was ſo well ſtudied and ſo favourite a diverſion among them, that they obliged the runners to carry ſtones of a fixed weight, and even diſtributed prizes among them. As ſure as any one among them died, a certain number of his relations threw themſelves from a great height in order to accompany him in the other world; and this cuſtom, along with the frequent diſorders cauſed by the bad air in which they lived, hindered them from multiplying.

SUCH was a nation of Indians, whom father Ranconnier a jeſuit, had lately undertaken to convert, though with very little hopes of ſucceſs. He was even more than once on the point of falling a victim

to

to their prevention and jealousy, for which, however, it must be owned they had but too just grounds. A Portuguese priest, it seems, had, some years before, collected a considerable number of them under pretence of civilizing them, and instructing them in the christian religion; and, then, sold them to some of his countrymen, who were to carry them off to Brazil; but, unhappily for the wretch, the Itatines discovered his views, and murdered him.* This alone would have been sufficient to make them mistrust father Ranconnier; but their suspicions were increased by another European, who was indiscreet enough to tell them, that all those who listened to this father might soon expect to see themselves slaves to the Spaniards.

They even began to take up arms, as if the Spaniards were on the point of entering their country, when some special marks of the protection of heaven on father Ranconnier suddenly changed their hearts, and brought them in such numbers about him for instruction, that he and other jesuits that came to his assistance, had proselytes enough to form four reductions in one year, under the names of *St. Joseph*, the *Angels*, *St. Peter*, and *St. Paul*. The establishing of the company at Xerez would, no doubt, have tended greatly to the further progress of their mission; but, though the inhabitants had been a long time soliciting for it, the affair lingered so long, that all thoughts of it were at last laid aside. Certain it is, that the Spaniards did never sufficiently comprehend, how much it was their interest to keep and fortify this place, which might have secured to them the possession of all the course of the Paraguay, as far as the lake of the Xarayes; and that they have not been sufficiently upon their guard against the Mamelus, who have opened a road, on that side of South America, to their countrymen, for making

diſcoveries, in which the ſpaniards ſhould have been before hand with them.

Of this there happened a melancholy proof at the time we are ſpeaking of; a large gang of Mamelus, with an army of Tapes at their heels, having made a ſudden irruption into the country. The firſt thing theſe banditti did, was to ſend two envoys to the reduction of St. Joſeph, whoſe paſtor they knew was abſent, with a meſſage to the corregidor, importing that he had nothing to fear, as they were marching againſt ſome nations in the neighbourhood, firmly reſolved to chaſtiſe them for their inſolent behaviour to father Ranconnier; and that, if he would join them in ſo glorious a cauſe, he ſhould ſoon be convinced of their zeal for the welfare both of the miſſionaries and their Neophytes. The corregidor gave into the ſnare. He ordered all his warriors to take up arms, and marched with them to the camp of the Mamelus, where they were no ſooner arrived, than theſe miſcreants loaded them with chains.

The general then ſent out a detachment to carry off all thoſe, who ſtill remained in the reduction; and another, to attack that of the Angels; but the paſtor of the laſt had time enough to ſecure the retreat of part of its inhabitants. The reſt were taken, with the miſſionary, whom the Mamelus detained for three days together, leſt he ſhould aſſiſt any of his Neophytes to make their eſcape. A third body of theſe banditti fell upon the reduction of St. Peter; and partly by force, and partly by fraud, found means of getting all the inhabitants into their power, except ſeventy, who, having aſſembled about their paſtor, bravely repulſed an equal number of Tapes, and thirty Mamelus. The paſtor of St. Joſeph had likewiſe the good fortune of obtaining, by his entreaties, the liberty of two caciques; upon which ſeveral

of

of the Tapes, charmed with his zeal for the welfare of his Neophytes, thought proper to put themselves under his conduct. But he soon after had the mortification of hearing, that all the rest of the caciques and other Itatine officers, having been tied to one chain, had the misfortune of being drowned in crossing the Parana. Soon after, the jesuits were informed, that the Mamelus, to render them odious to the Itatines, had renewed the calumny which they had formerly propagated with such success; namely, that the jesuits themselves had invited them; and it wrought so much upon the poor people, that several of them, through mere resentment, profaned the sacred vessels, and even formed a design against the life of one of their pastors. But means were at last found to disabuse them, and even restore the reductions, by degrees, to their former populousness.

1633. THOSE on the Parana, which had for a long time enjoyed the sweets of an uninterrupted peace, were now tried in their turn; and the first trial they were put to, was of a very extraordinary kind, being the work of those who should have been their protectors; namely, the governor and the bishop of the province of Paraguay. The prelate had visited them a few years before, and bestowed the highest praises both on the Neophytes, and their missionaries. As to the governor, his conduct, ever since his promotion to that employment, had been such, as left these new christian colonies no reason to expect any favour from him. It seemed even surprizing, that he had not carried his malice against them to still greater lengths.

THIS nobleman, it seems, had given orders to a Cacique but lately converted, to supply him with a certain number of Pirogues; but, though he had been obeyed with the greatest punctuality, yet,

as these boats happened to be too small for his use, he fell into so a violent passion with the Cacique, and the Indians, who came along with him to deliver them, that he immediately sent the poor people to prison. He even forgot himself so far, as to threaten, with personal service, all the christians of the reductions on the Parana. These acts of violence and rash threats made so great an impression on the Neophytes, that the missionaries had much ado to contain them. But it proved still more difficult to pacify them, in regard to a step of the bishop, which he could not have taken in a more critical conjuncture.

This prelate had, all on a sudden, taken it into his head, or at least, had been made to believe, that he might considerably increase the revenues of his church, by placing over the reductions of his diocese, pastors more dependent on him than the Jesuits; and, under pretence that the new christians under the conduct of these religious, paid him neither tithes, nor the fourth part of the fruits of the earth, he began by interdicting all their missionaries. So great and sudden a clap surprized every one; and it was the general opinion, that the bishop had not proceeded so far without a fixed design of going still farther.

The governor, on his side, abated nothing of his menaces; and people waited with the greatest impatience the upshot of this affair, when father Romero arrived post-haste at the Assumption, from the farther extremity of the province of Uruguay, where the noise of this sudden storm had reached him. The first thing he did was to wait on the governor, whom he beseeched to consider, that the kings of Spain had absolutely forbid their subjects to treat the Indians in a rough manner, those especially, who had been converted and formed into reductions by the Jesuits; or even impose any

task,

tasks upon them; their majesties being desirous, that they should be prevailed upon by fair means, to do every thing, it might be thought proper to require of them; but his remonstrances had no effect. However, he again returned to the charge; and by his constancy, and his eloquence equally strong and insinuating, obtained, at last every thing he wanted. The governor ordered the prisoners to be set at liberty, and promised never more to molest the Neophytes.

But it proved much more difficult to move the bishop. It was to no purpose, father Romero, after striving in vain to reason him into better sentiments, produced the bulls of the sovereign Pontifs, and the decrees of the royal council of the Indies, by which it plainly appeared, that his lordship had transgressed the bounds of his authority in interdicting the missionaries. He could get no other answer from him, than that he had a right to dispose of the parishes within his diocese. To this father Romero replied, that the reductions directed by the jesuits were not to be considered as parishes in the strict sense of that word. The bishop persisted in alledging, that those, who had charge of them, were parish priests subject to the ordinary, like all other parish priests. At length, the provincial, who was by this time arrived at the Assumption, caused to be notified to the bishop the letters patent of the king, by which his majesty forbade all persons of what ever rank and dignity, to deprive the fathers of the company of Jesus of the government of their Neophytes, or disturb them, under any pretext, in the exercise of their functions.

The governor, who had already yielded to reason, seconded the provincial; and the bishop soon followed his example. He even did it with so good a grace, that, father Romero having set out to return to his church, he immediately followed him;

visited a second time the reductions within his diocese; loaded the Neophytes with praises and caresses; and, above all things, recommended to them, an entire confidence in those, who governed them with so much zeal and wisdom. This prelate was in the year 1635 translated to the bishoprick of Buenos Ayres, and ever after lived in the greatest harmony with the jesuits, which has not, however, hindered the authors of the *Morale pratique* from placing him, on the authority of Don Bernardin de Cardenas, among those prelates, whom the jesuits, according to him, had driven out of their dioceses. But these gentlemen, it seems, did not consider, that, if these fathers had credit enough for that purpose, they could not but have enough to prevent his translation to the bishoprick of Buenos Ayres, where it imported them much more to have a bishop in their interest, than at the Assumption.

But this storm had scarce blown over, when a report of the Mamelus having resolved to penetrate as far as the Parana, threw all the reductions established on that river, into the greatest consternation. Nor was it a vain alarm; for the report was soon followed by certain advice, of their advancing by forced marches, after passing the great fall. As, therefore, it could not be doubted, that these banditti would first attack the reductions of the nativity and St. Mary Major, it was resolved to remove the inhabitants to Itapua. These precautions so disconcerted all the schemes of the enemy, that they thought it more prudent to march back, than venture further into a country, with which they were not sufficiently acquainted.

This year, the viceroy of Peru received positive orders from court, to suppress, absolutely and irrevocably, the practices of exacting personal service from the Indians, and substitute to it a tax pay-

able

able to their encomenderoes, in money, vegetables, ſtuffs, honey, poultry, or fiſh, according to the nature of the countries they inhabited. It is very probable, that it was found improper to uſe violence in the execution of theſe orders; and that, therefore, gentle means were only employed. Be that as it will, certain it is, that things have remained ever ſince on much the ſame footing they were before; and that the moſt melancholy experience has not as yet been able to convince the Spaniards of Paraguay, that, independent of the dictates of religion and common honeſty, their intereſt alone ſhould engage them to comply with the will of their ſovereign.

1635. It could ſcarce be expected, that the Mamelus and the Tupis, who did not think it too far to march to the reductions on the Parana, in order to make ſlaves of the new chriſtians there, ſhould not hanker after thoſe of the Tape, which lay ſo much nearer and more convenient to them; as, in their journeys along the eaſtern coaſts of Brazil for the ſake of ſelling their ſlaves, they generally ſtopt at the *Port de ſan Pedro*, formed by the mouth of the great river *Tebiquari*, which iſſues from the mountains of Tape. Accordingly, the miſſionaries of this province had begun ſeriouſly to think on the propereſt meaſures for putting it in a good poſture of defence againſt them. But ſuch is the indolence of its natives, that theſe fathers might have laboured long enough to very little purpoſe, had not the misfortune, which ſome of their Neophytes had to fall into the hands of theſe banditti, made ſuch an impreſſion on the reſt, that they immediately purſued them; and not only reſcued their countrymen, but made ſeveral priſoners, who were diſtributed among the re-

ductions

ductions of the Parana, where, in time, they came to a due ſenſe of their extreme folly and wickedneſs.

THE ardour inſpired by this ſucceſs was ſtill alive, when the Neophytes had a new opportunity of exerting it. One of the miſſionaries, who had moſt contributed to civilize and convert them, having been treacherouſly killed by ſome of the neighbouring Indians, two bodies of them entered the enemy's country, in ſpite of all the endeavours of their paſtors to reſtrain their fury on two different ſides; and, though both found armies prepared to receive them, they fought with ſuch bravery, that, without loſing a ſingle man, they killed a great number of theſe ſavages, made a great many priſoners, and entirely diſperſed the reſt. They would even have carried their reſentment ſtill further, had not the miſſionaries found means to put a ſtop to it. But, as they neglected to take any ſecurity for the better behaviour of the enemy for the time to come, this mercy of theirs had like to have proved very fatal to them. The wild Indians, being left entirely to themſelves, acquired, by degrees, more ſtrength than they had loſt; fell upon the reduction lately governed by the murdered miſſionary; butchered all the inhabitants that had not the good fortune of ſaving themſelves by flight, and even three hundred children, whom they afterwards devoured. The other reductions of Tape were on the point of ſharing the ſame fate; ſo that it was at laſt found neceſſary, in order to ſupport ſome, and repair the reſt, to take up arms a ſecond time, and make new efforts, the ſucceſs of which was now become very uncertain. But the God of armies ſoon declared in favour of his worſhippers, who had engaged in this war, merely to prevent the profanation of his ſanctuary, and preſerve his adorers. Beſides, theſe new maccabees ſought leſs to ſpill the blood of their enemies, than to impoſe

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a yoke on them, which they took care to render very supportable, and eased them of the minute they found them sincerely disposed to bow their necks to that of the gospel.

1636. The year following, Don Martin de Ledesma, who had succeeded Don Lewis de Cespedez in the government of Paraguay, having received orders from the royal audience of la Plata, to visit the reductions on the Parana, had no sooner finished his visit, than, at the instigation of the inhabitants of the Assumption, he formed the design of transferring, to the neighbourhood of that capital, two of them, that had been already removed into his province from that of Guayra, in order to give the Neophytes of them in command. His pretence for taking this step was, that these Indians had been reduced by arms, before the jesuits had undertaken to re-unite them; and that, therefore, the Spaniards had a just title to their services; and he persisted so obstinately in this, his false notion, that nothing less than a positive order from the royal audience could hinder him from proceeding. Another pretension of the governor of Buenos Ayres, equally ill grounded, met with the same check. In consequence of some disagreement between him and the jesuits, he wrote to his majesty for leave to build a city on the Uruguay, on pretence of thereby keeping in awe the new christians of this province, every day, he said, growing more and more numerous. But this appeared a very odd motive to Philip IV. thoroughly convinced, as he was, that these Neophytes, far from deserving to be treated with so much diffidence, formed the best barrier he could have against all his enemies on that side of the country; his majesty, accordingly, sent orders to the governor to lay aside his design.

A THIRD

A THIRD ſtorm, which aroſe at the ſame time, inſtead of only threatening from afar, was attended with very fatal conſequences. The inhabitants of the Aſſumption affirmed, that, as the Itatine chriſtians were not included in the privileges granted to the Neophytes of the jeſuits, there could be no reaſon for not giving them in command. But they did not, or at leaſt would not, conſider, that as they had not conquered theſe Indians, they could have no juſt pretence to deprive them of their liberty; but thoſe, whoſe intereſt it was to maintain this vexatious pretenſion, had found means to biaſs ſo far both the civil and eccleſiaſtical courts, that they ordered the paſtors ſtationed in theſe reductions, to give up their places to ſecular prieſts. In the mean time, fearing that the jeſuits might complain of this violence to the royal audience of La Plata, ſome of the principal inhabitants ſigned a memorial addreſſed to that tribunal, in which they advanced ſeveral facts invented to render theſe fathers odious, and him in particular, who tranſacted their affairs at la Plata.

BUT this very contrivance ruined all their projects. One of thoſe, who had ſigned the memorial, ſcrupled it to ſuch a degree, that, to calm his conſcience, he found himſelf under a neceſſity of ſending a judicial retractation of his falſe allegations; and this retractation diſcovered the myſtery of iniquity, which the conſpirators had been endeavouring to cover with the ſpecious veil of the public good. But, though the royal audience loſt no time in iſſuing a degree, forbidding any innovations to be made in the Itatine reductions, it arrived too late. The new chriſtians compoſing them, having already received ſome intimation of the deſign of the Spaniards, were ſo terrified at the thoughts of being reduced to the drudgery of perſonal ſervice, that great numbers of them took refuge among the

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wild Indians. To increaſe this misfortune, a plague followed; and moſt of thoſe who eſcaped it diſperſed; and of the three paſtors, who governed this church, two fell into a conſumption, and were obliged to quit the field; ſo that the third not being able to attend to every thing, it coſt more to reunite this ſcared and exaſperated flock, than had been at firſt requiſite to form it.

The plague likewiſe, ſucceeded by a famine, had laid waſte the reductions of Tape, when the ſurviving Neophytes received intelligence, that the Mamelus were making a powerful armament to pay them a ſecond viſit. As the reduction of Jeſus-Maria lay the moſt expoſed to their fury, father Romero applied to the governor of Rio de la Plata for leave to throw up ſome retrenchments about it; and, having obtained his conſent, immediately repaired there to haſten the works. But the Mamelus appeared before they could be compleated, followed by fifteen hundred Tupis and ſeveral other Indians. Such of the Neophytes as were not actually employed in the military works, were abroad hunting, or cultivating their lands, all to four hundred, who remained in the town; and ſeveral of theſe were not in a condition to make any great reſiſtance.

What reſiſtance they made, however, was much more vigorous than could be well expected. But no one behaved better on the occaſion, than a woman who had put on man's clothes for the purpoſe. Having ſpied a Mamelus, who alone made a greater ſlaughter than all the reſt put together, ſhe immediately made up to him, and laid him dead at her feet. Two lay brother jeſuits ſignalized themſelves on this occaſion, and were dangerouſly wounded; as was father Mola, in performing the perilous functions of his miniſtry. At length, the Mamelus having ſet fire to the church, where all thoſe who could not

fight

fight had ſhut themſelves up, there was a neceſſity for capitulating. The conditions were pretty favourable, but they were ſoon broke. Part of thoſe who had fought, were butchered in cold blood, and the reſt thrown into chains. Theſe banditti afterwards ſet fire to the houſes; and, carrying off even ſeveral of thoſe whom their paſtors had ranſomed, ſpread themſelves over the country and made a great many priſoners there; ſo that ſcarce one-fourth of the inhabitants eſcaped their fury. We are told, that moſt of the captives, even the children, did great honour to the chriſtian faith during their captivity, though ſome apoſtaſied; and became, in proceſs of time, as it uſually happens, the moſt dangerous enemies to the religion they had forſaken.

Upon this, the reduction of St. Chriſtopher, but two leagues from that of Jeſus-Maria, was immediately evacuated, and the inhabitants conducted to St. Anne, where the remains of Jeſus-Maria had been already transferred. But though the paſtor of Jeſus-Maria had by this aſſembled a body of ſixteen hundred men, it was judged proper to remove ſtill further, to the Nativity, at the other ſide of the Iguai, not only thoſe, who had taken ſhelter at St. Anne, but likewiſe the inhabitants themſelves. This tranſmigration, however, was performed with great order. Detachments were poſted at all the fords of the river, except one, which was left naked in order to draw the Mamelus into an ambuſcade in the woods, with which its banks are covered. The neceſſity of theſe precautions ſoon became evident. It was not long before a large body of Mamelus croſſed the river by the ford which had been left uncovered. But they ſoon fell into the ambuſcade which had been laid for them, and were all cut to pieces.

BUT

But these prudent measures did not hinder the alarm from encreasing. It was even strongly reported, that the enemy were marching towards the Uruguay; and that some of their detachments had already murdered several jesuits. Upon this, therefore, orders were given to set fire to the reductions of that province, and they had already begun to be executed, when the provincial of the jesuits, having fortunately heard of them, gave directions to proceed no further, till he could examine matters on the spot; and he immediately set out for that purpose. He met, in his way, the inhabitants of the reductions, that had been already evacuated, and, having distributed them among the nearest towns, posted to the Assumption to require assistance of the governor of Paraguay.

He represented to the governor, that, if he once suffered all the christian colonies to be destroyed, it would no longer be possible to secure a great number of Spanish settlements from the Mamelus. To this Don Martin de Ledesma made no other answer, than that he would have done much better to strengthen the old reductions than form new ones. Father Boroa replied, that, by abandoning the province of Tape, and all the course of the Uruguay, the province of Parana, and even that of Paraguay, would have been laid open to the enemy, who could then with impunity ravage all the country to the very gates of the Assumption, like the Chiriguanes, the Calchaquis, and several other barbarous nations of Tucuman. As Don Martin had formerly been governor of Tucuman, he must have seen the force of this argument much better than any one else; notwithstanding which, he thought proper not to yield to it.

The son of the governor of Rio de la Plata, who had the command of the troops of Buenos Ayres, and even of the capital itself, should have taken more

more interest in the preservation of the churches on the Uruguay; and yet he proved equally deaf to the provincial's entreaties. This father then addressed himself to the inhabitants of Corrientes; but all to no purpose. However, he still resolved not to abandon the reductions that were most exposed to danger; and, therefore, assembled all the Neophytes that had not as yet any fixed habitations; sent to the nearest reductions for good escorts; crossed the Iguai, where he still encreased his numbers; and, having thus formed a pretty numerous army, advanced to the demolished reductions, thinking he might still find the enemy there, and rescue those they had made prisoners. But the Mamelus, having received early notice of his design, had taken care to defeat it by a timely retreat.

The provincial, therefore, could now do no more than bury the dead bodies, which still lay exposed to the beasts and birds of prey, in every place where any resistance had been made. Afterwards, finding that nothing was to be expected from the Spaniards, unless the royal council of the Indies interposed, he wrote to that tribunal to inform it of every thing that had happened, and of the melancholy situation of the new christians of Paraguay. He sent his letters by a ship bound to Portugal; and he thought he had given them into very sure hands; but they were thrown into the sea, two hundred leagues from Lisbon. Those, however, who had given orders for so doing, reaped no benefit by it; for the packet was found, some time after, in that port, and carried to his catholic majesty.

1737. The year following, the jesuits of Paraguay deputed father Diaz Tano to Rome, and father de Montayo to Madrid. Their business was to solicit the royal council of the Indies for powerful assistance against the Mamelus; and acquaint it with the obstacles that hindered

hindered the progress of the gospel in Paraguay; that of the former was to give the general of the company an account of their affairs in that province, and obtain of him a reinforcement of missionaries. The bishop of Tucuman made use of the same oppportunity to write to his catholick majesty the following letter.

SIRE,

"Your majesty has often given orders to my predecessors to let you know how far the diocese of Tucuman may stand in need of religious to preach the gospel to the natives, that the royal council of the Indies may be the better able to supply its wants. As, therefore, within these three years that I have had the spiritual government of it, I have carefully visited almost every part of it, I shall lay before your majesty an account of its present state.

THIS province, Sire, is more than four hundred leagues in extent; contains eight Spanish, and a great number of Indian towns, of which the most inconsiderable contains from twelve to fourteen thousand souls. All the inhabitants have been baptized, but most of them have renounced or forgot the faith, through natural levity or want of instruction. Of these the jesuits had converted upwards of fifty thousand, but were obliged to abandon them on account of the bad behaviour of the Spaniards, who in a hostile manner entered the province of Chaco, whose inhabitants are, in general, very docile, live together in towns, and do not go naked like other Indians. There are eight of these towns, whose inhabitants are christians; but they have no pastor; and it is not in my power to give them any, since, even in the Spanish towns, there is scarce a priest capable of performing the parochial functions. When I can, I send some ecclesiasticks there twice a year to

to visit them; for it is not always I can do that. Thus have I the mortification of seeing perish, for want of assistance, a great many souls, redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ, committed to my care, and under the protection of your majesty.

In the Indian towns governed by secular priests, there are many things that want to be reformed. These priests know nothing; and are neither capable of fulfilling their own obligations, nor of instructing in theirs those committed to their care. The regulars are very few; and the religious of St. Francis, in particular, are scarce sufficient to serve their churches. There are, therefore, none but the fathers of the company that can exonerate your majesty's conscience. In all their houses, there are labourers ready, both night and day, to do every thing required of them. They instruct the children, visit the sick, assist the dying, and are particularly careful of the Indians and Negroes. For this reason I have entreated their provincial, lately arrived with some other jesuits, to hold an assembly of his order, in the city of Corduba, where I am now on a visitation, to send some evangelical labourers to Chaco, that the inhabitants, who have already some pretty good notions of the christian religion, may by gentle means be reduced to the obedience of Jesus Christ. I have, at the same time, conjured him to spare some preachers to the most unprovided quarters of my diocese, in order to endeavour the reformation of the Spaniards, the Portuguese and the Metis, whose dissolute lives greatly scandalize the Indians; and to administer the sacraments, which are now scarce known among them.

To this he answered, that his religious could not comply with my request, without exposing themselves to the same persecution, they have suffered for some years past, in the province of Para-

guay, from the Spaniards, the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue, and the Tupis. In fact, the Spaniards are greatly prejudiced against them, because, as far as lies in their power, they maintain the Indians in the possession of that liberty which your majesty has been pleased to grant them. However, as soon as he saw I spoke to him in your majesty's name, and that what I required so nearly regarded God's service, he sent orders, in conformity, to all the fathers of his province; and I am satisfied they will leave all their houses empty, rather than not comply with them. But, unhappily, their numbers are very small.

I, THEREFORE, conjure your majesty by the bowels of Jesus Christ, and by the inestimable value of so many souls, whose salvation this divine Saviour has charged me to procure, and for whom he died on the cross, to send me forty fathers of the company, with strict orders not to stop to exercise their zeal any where but in the diocese of Tucuman; for, I do not believe there is, in all the world, one more destitute of spiritual assistance. I may even safely assure your majesty, that, if my whole revenue, which does not exceed four thousand crowns, was not already irrevocably appropriated, I would send for these religious at my own expence. But I flatter myself I have discharged my duty by laying before your majesty, the sovereign of these provinces, and the patron of their churches, the melancholy situation of mine in particular, and the remedies that may be applied to it. God keep and preserve your royal person for the defence of religion. At Corduba of Tucuman, the eighteenth day of October, 1637."

THE letter of Don Pedro Estevan d'Avila, which he gave with his own hands to the deputies, when going to embark at Buenos Ayres, contains the following particulars, "I had been in-

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formed of the diſorders committed by the inhabitants of St. Paul of Brazil, in the reductions or miſſions, which the fathers of the company of Jeſus have eſtabliſhed, within this juriſdiction, on the Uruguay, and in Tape; and, at my arrival at Rio Janeyro, I found that I had heard nothing but what was exactly true; for I ſaw expoſed to ſale, in that port, ſome Indians, whom the inhabitants of St. Paul brought there as publickly as if they had been made ſlaves with your majeſty's conſent. I afterwards received the moſt convincing proofs, that, from the year 1628 to 1630, the ſame inhabitants of St. Paul had carried off ſixty thouſand ſouls from the reductions of this province and thoſe of Paraguay, where they exerciſed the greateſt cruelties, behaving in a manner that one would ſcarce think poſſible for men, who called themſelves chriſtians and catholicks.

Being deſirous of putting a ſtop to theſe enormities, I wrote to Don Martin de Sa, at that time governor of this province, to induce him to do, what I now beſeech your majeſty to direct. I likewiſe ſend your majeſty his anſwer to my letter. I hope from your majeſty's piety and juſtice, that you will put a ſtop to this ſcandal, by giving the moſt expreſs orders to hinder the inhabitants of St. Paul from entering theſe provinces, through which they would ſoon find out a paſſage to Peru, as father Anthony Ruiz, of the company of Jeſus, now on his departure for Spain on affairs of the laſt importance to church and ſtate, can more amply inform your majeſty."

End of the Sixth Book.

BOOK

BOOK VII.

The new christians of the reductions in the neighbourhood of the Uruguay, after making head, with various success, against the Mamelus, are removed by their pastors to the neighbourhood of the Parana; are allowed the use of fire-arms; entirely defeat, under the command of the governor of Paraguay, a large body of the Mamelus. Lake with floating Islands. Renegadoes and outlaws, who had taken shelter in them, defeated by the new christians. The Pope excommunicates the Mamelus and their abettors. Ferment occasioned thereby in Brazil. Duke of Braganca ascends the throne of Portugal. New regulations of the court of Madrid in favour of the Indians of Paraguay, particularly the christian Indians carried off by the Mamelus. Attempt to civilize and convert two Indian nations called Mataranes *and* Abipones. *Their manners and customs. Progress of the gospel in Paraguay checked by an edict of the court of Madrid, forbidding any but the natural born subjects of Spain to pass over as missionaries into Paraguay. Engagements by water and land between the Mamelus and the new christians; in which the former are entirely defeated. Don Bernardin de Cardenas named bishop of the Assumption; abuses his spiritual power, and encroaches on the civil, to the subversion of all order in church and state; begins to inveigh against the jesuits. Leaves the Assumption, but returns again, in order to drive the*

the jeſuits out of it; being diſappointed in the attempt, entrenches himſelf in the franciſcan convent; is declared by his clergy an intruder into the dioceſe; and leaves the capital; adjudged, on his own c[illegible]ſion, an intruder by the ſee of Rome.

THE evil complained of in the letter from the biſhop of Tucuman, with which we have finiſhed our laſt book, was ſtill more preſſing than his lordſhip imagined it. But, however impatient the two deputies were to get to Europe, they were delayed more than ſix months at Rio Janeiro, probably for want of a ſhip to purſue their voyage. They exerted themſelves, in the mean time, to convince the Portugueze, how unworthy of men of honour the ſlave trade was which they carried on with the Mamelus; and conjured them to reflect ſeriouſly on the rigorous account, to which they muſt ſooner or later be called for it by God, and his catholick majeſty their ſovereign. Father de Montoya even ſpoke more than once from the pulpit to the ſame purpoſe, and his remonſtrances were not altogether fruitleſs. Several perſons ſet at liberty the reduction Indians they had bought from the Mamelus; and the magiſtrates ſtrictly forbid them to buy any for the future.

We ſhall now leave the deputies for a time to continue their voyage; and return to the reductions, which were likely to be no ſmall loſers by the abſence of Father de Montoya, who had governed them for ſome time paſt; it being no eaſy matter to find a perſon equally qualified for ſo arduous a taſk, eſpecially in the preſent perilous circumſtances. However, the choice, which the provincial made of father Diego Alfero to ſucceed him met with univerſal applauſe.

applauſe. This miſſionary was equally conſpicuous for his reſolution and good ſenſe; and ſtill of an age equal to the greateſt fatigues. Nor [illegible] long before he had opportunities of juſtifying the favourable opinion the world entertained of him; the Mamelus being by this more enraged than ever againſt the new chriſtians of Tape, where there now remained but the reductions of St. Joachim, St. Thereſa, and St. Anne. For, there appearing no probability of being able to ſupport the firſt of theſe reductions againſt an enemy, whoſe fury only encreaſed in proportion to the reſiſtance and even the ſucceſſes of the new chriſtians againſt them, it was reſolved to remove it nearer to the Uruguay.

But the miſſionaries found it a much harder matter, than they at firſt thought it would be, to make the Neophytes conſent to this tranſmigration. They repreſented, that the country, to which theſe fathers propoſed to conduct them, was little leſs expoſed to the inſults of the enemy than their own; and no arguments were found ſufficient to convince them of their miſtake. They even carried their diſcontent to ſome diſagreeable lengths. Several fled; and ſome forgot themſelves ſo far as to conſpire againſt the lives of their paſtors. The greateſt number ſo obſtinately perſiſted in their unwillingneſs to remove, that, to oblige them to it, it was at laſt found abſolutely neceſſary to ſet fire to the town. But, even then, numbers of them diſperſed ſeveral ways. One of the miſſionaries was obliged to follow a great number towards the *Caapis* or *Caapaguas*, whilſt two others conducted the reſt to St. Thereſa.

The miſſionaries did not intend to leave their Neophytes at St. Thereſa; they had even traced out, pretty near that reduction, the plan of another for theſe poor fugitives, of whom they had, by this,

collected six hundred families. But a new alarm made it prudent to conduct them still further. Some time after, St. Theresa was surprized, and all its inhabitants carried off. Their pastors o[illegible] to ransom them, but the Mamelus asked a great deal more, than it was in their power to give. This happened a few days before Christmas; yet, on Christmas-day these banditti came to the church, every man with a taper in his hand, in order to hear the three masses of one of the fathers, who, the minute he had finished them, got into the pulpit, and reproached them, in the bitterest terms, with their injustice and cruelty. But they could not have listened to him with more calmness, if what he said did not any way concern them. When he had done, however, they granted him the liberty of two children, who served at the altar. At length, the two fathers, finding it impossible to obtain any more prisoners from them, buried all the sacred vessels and altar ornaments they could not take away with them, and set out for the Uruguay.

On their way, they met with several Neophytes wandering in the forests; and one of them conducted these poor scattered remains to the reductions on the Parana, where they were received with open arms. Some time after the inhabitants of St. Anne, having received timely notice of the approach of the Mamelus, dispersed, to avoid falling into their hands; and most of them being but proselytes, they soon took a new liking to the vagabond way of life, in which they had been brought up. Several even suffered themselves to be persuaded, that the missionaries had assembled them merely to deliver them up to the Mamelus, who, themselves, every where propagated this calumny; and, in a short time, all the new christians gave such credit to it, that the pastors were in con-

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ſtant danger of being murdered by them. They inſulted father Alfero ſeveral times; and one day carried off his chapel, and profaned the ſacred veſſels in his preſence. In ſhort, they ſuddenly deſerted ſo many reductions, that it was thought requiſite to remove the inhabitants of the reſt towards the Parana, where the ſtorm, however, ſoon followed them. The alarm even gained the Itatines, now united into reductions, though in a place where there was no probability that the Mamelus would ever come to attack them.

1738-39. THE Mamelus ſoon after fell upon the province of Uruguay; and, ſo early as the month of January 1638, the reductions of St. Charles and the Apoſtles had been abandoned by their inhabitants, though well able to defend themſelves, as were, likewiſe, thoſe of ſome other reductions in the neighbourhood, had they but joined for that purpoſe. But ſuch a conſternation had ſeized them, that they no longer liſtened to the voice of their paſtors. There happened, however, one pretty ſmart ſkirmiſh, in which thirteen hundred chriſtians, who ventured to make head againſt the Mamelus, had at firſt ſome advantage; but, a ſudden panick having ſeized them, they retreated to their reduction and ſet fire to it, though the enemy had not purſued them. Some days after, however, on receiving a reinforcement, they marched back to the place where they had left the Mamelus, who after retreating at the ſame time that the Indians had fled, were likewiſe returned to it. Upon this, a new battle enſued, and the chriſtians obtained a compleat victory; but, unhappily, they knew not how to improve it. They even permitted themſelves to be ſo far thrown off their guard by this little ſucceſs, that they fell into an ambuſcade, where, however, very few of them periſhed. They might have eaſily cut to pieces thoſe who had

drawn them into it, had it been in the power of their leaders to bring them back to the charge. But, so far from being even able to rally them, they could not stop them till they had reached the [illegible] of the Piratiny.

Some time after this, on a report that the Mamelus were marching back to Brazil, several Neophytes returned to their reductions; but the Mamelus appeared again, before they were well settled in them. However, they waited for these banditti with great bravery; and, after a pretty smart skirmish, both parties separated without any loss on either side. The Mamelus now finding, that open force was no longer likely to succeed with them, had recourse to stratagem; but they got nothing by it. Soon after, both parties came to blows again; but the Neophytes, betrayed by one of their leaders, were obliged to take to their heels; and never looked behind them, till they got to the other side of the Uruguay. This defeat was followed by the ruin of the reduction of St. Nicholas, and the evacuation of all the country between the Uruguay and the Piratiny.

The missionaries made such good use of this event to convince all the new christians that still remained in that province, and those in the neighbourhood of the Parana, how necessary it was to exert themselves to prevent their total ruin, that they found it no difficult matter to raise an army, which, from the banks of the Uruguay, where it had been formed, advanced to the Piratiny. Father Alfaro, who accompanied it, having here received advice, that the Mamelus were in full march towards Brazil, the Indian army immediately set out again in pursuit of them; and, having at last overtaken them, skirmished with them several days together, before either side could boast of any decisive advantage over the other. At last, fifteen

hundred

hundred men, with which one of the miſſionaries had re-inforced the chriſtians, gave them ſuch a ſuperiority, that the Mamelus were obliged to intrench themſelves, to avoid being all cut to pieces. The Neophytes, upon this, unable to force the intrenchment, blocked them up, and by that means reduced the enemy to ſuch extremities, that they had no other choice left but to ſurrender at diſcretion, or make a deſperate puſh to open themſelves a way through the beſiegers.

The new chriſtians, perhaps, would have yielded to ſo ſudden and unexpected an attack, were it not for the timely arrival of another reinforcement, though it conſiſted of no more than eleven Spaniards, whom the governor of Rio de la Plata had ſent to examine into the ſtate of affairs in this province, and who, after a march of two hundred leagues, found themſelves, as it were, by mere accident, within ſight of the intrenchment, juſt as the Neophytes began to loſe ground and diſperſe. But as ſoon as they ſpied the Spaniards, they took heart again; and ſuffered themſelves to be rallied by their commander, and led back to the charge. The Mamelus, upon this, imagining the reinforcement ſtronger than it really was, called out for quarters, and accepted it on whatever terms the chriſtians were pleaſed to require. Father Alfaro advanced to ſpeak to them; and began by declaring them excommunicated, according to the orders he had received for that purpoſe from the biſhop of Buenos Ayres. He then required of them an oath, that for the future they would never commit any hoſtility againſt the chriſtian reductions; and they immediately complied. The miſſionary, however, fully convinced, that the anathemas of the church and their own imprecations were too weak a reſtraint upon ſuch abandoned wretches, was for taking more effectual precautions againſt them;

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and did all that lay in his power to make the officer, who commanded the Spaniards, ſenſible of the neceſſity there was for doing ſo; but it was to no purpoſe; he was not to be perſuaded; ſo that the Mamelus were permitted to eſcape, without giving any further ſecurity for their good behaviour.

The conſequences of this imprudent ſtep were much worſe, perhaps, than the ſuperior of the miſſion imagined. New gangs of the Mamelus croſſed the Igai; and the chriſtians were on the point of ſeeing themſelves again expoſed to all the horrors, with which they had already been ſurrounded, if father de Boroa had not had influence enough over them, to prevail on them to form a new army, which ſoon made all the parties of the enemy diſappear. But this diſgrace could neither cure them of their intention to return with freſh forces, nor of the hopes of being more ſucceſsful another time; and, at laſt, the miſſionaries perceived, that it would be the height of imprudence to leave the Neophytes any longer in a country, every minute liable to become the theatre of a war, by which, however ſucceſsful, they could be no gainers; and which, conſidering the diſparity of their arms, could not be expected to terminate, otherwiſe than in the utter ruin of a church which it had coſt them ſo much to form. The provincial, therefore, concluded, that no time ſhould be loſt in conducting all the Neophytes, that could be gathered together, to places, where they might have nothing to fear from ſuch implacable enemies.

The chief difficulty, that attended this tranſmigration, was that of making the Neophytes conſent to it; moſt of them having declared, that they would rather run all the riſks, to which their continuing where they were might expoſe them, than roam into a diſtant country, in queſt of what others might call an aſylum, but which they ſhould always

conſider

consider as a place of banishment. It, therefore, cost no small time, resolution and address, to bring them to do that, on which, in the main, they could not but be convinced their safety depended. This done, it was resolved to fix them between the Uruguay and the Parana, near the place where these two great rivers approach within about fifteen leagues of each other, in order to give them two barriers easy to defend, and an opportunity of being more readily succoured. This project, however, met with many obstacles; but, means being found to surmount them, it was at last executed in the following manner.

This great multitude of men, women and children, were formed into three divisions. Father Christopher de Arenas was charged with the first; and it was as much as he could do, with all his courage and industry, to conduct them to the spot assigned him. Part of them disbanded on the road, and he had much ado to make them return. Several wanted to stop in places, that were accessible only to savages, and where, of course, they must soon have relapsed into their old way of living; but he followed them every where, and often exposed his life to bring them back. Some of them revolted openly, and even employed such threats, as might have disconcerted a man of less zeal and resolution. At length, he had the good fortune to make them cross the Parana, where he had orders to distribute them among the reductions of that province, till they could build towns for themselves. It was at the passage of this river that the spirit of mutiny chiefly manifested itself, as they all took it into their heads, that the father was going to deliver them up into the hands of the Spaniards.

The leaders of the second division had still more to suffer, though a great deal less than those of the third, not to lose more of their flock, than even the

Mamelus

Mamelus had carried off from them. The person, who spared himself least upon this occasion, was the provincial; and the success of this important enterprize was due chiefly to his courage, his prudence, and his unalterable meekness. Twelve thousand Indians, exclusive of women and children, were thus happily collected together, in places where it was not possible to surprize them; and from which they could easily return to their ancient habitations, as soon as they should find themselves in a condition to maintain their ground there, which soon after happened to be the case. Some missionaries were then detached in quest of those who had separated from the main body, in order to bring them back to the fold; and they not only succeeded in their errand, but had the consolation of gaining over to Jesus Christ several infidels, who could not help being charmed with their charity and pastoral solicitude. No time was lost in building huts to lodge this great multitude; and in putting them in a condition to provide by labour for all their other wants.

But it was not enough to secure these new christians against a surprize. Their chiefs represented to the provincial, that, as long as they could not engage the Mamelus with equal arms, it was impossible they should not become a prey to them in the end, in spite of all the precautions that could be taken to prevent it. Of this father Boroa and all the missionaries were equally convinced. But it was considered, in Spain, as a maxim of state, not to introduce the use of fire arms among the Indians; and no precaution, it must be allowed, could be wiser in regard to the Indians given in command, and who lived intermixed with the Spaniards. These it imported greatly to keep under subjection. But this was not the case with the

the Indians we are now ſpeaking of. The fidelity of the firſt, whoſe ſubmiſſion was involuntary, could only be depended upon, in proportion to their inability to ſhake off the yoke; whereas, that of the ſecond being voluntary, and the advantages of it to them very conſpicuous, they could have no motive to revolt, as long as no attempts were made upon their liberty, in the poſſeſſion of which the ſovereign had promiſed to maintain them.

Besides, they were the only Spaniſh Indians, on whom the provinces of Paraguay and Rio de la Plata could depend for a barrier againſt the enterprizes of the Portugueze and the Indians of the frontiers of Brazil, who did not deſtroy the towns of Xerez, Villarica, and Ciudad Real; open themſelves a paſſage to Peru, through the North of Paraguay; and take poſſeſſion of the rich gold mines of *Cuayaba* and of *Monte groſſo*, of which I ſhall ſpeak hereafter; till they had firſt ruined the reductions of the province of Guayra. It is, no doubt, very ſurprizing, that the Spaniſh governors, to whom the miſſionaries made reiterated repreſentations on that head, ſhould have paid ſo little regard to them. But they ſuffered themſelves to be prejudiced againſt theſe miſſionaries by perſons, who had nothing in view but their own private intereſt, which they, beſides, very ill underſtood, and to which they ſacrificed that of both church and ſtate, from an unwillingneſs to ſee any of the natives become chriſtians, but ſuch as they could make ſlaves of.

On the preſent occaſion, however, the governors, even thoſe who had the welfare of the new chriſtians moſt at heart, were of opinion, they ought not to take upon themſelves to meddle in ſo delicate an affair, as that of granting the uſe of fire arms to the new chriſtians. And father de Boroa, perhaps, thought it dangerous to mention it to them, leſt, his project coming to tranſpire, ſome

oppoſitions

oppositions might be made to it, which it would be a difficult matter to remove. But in the instructions, which he gave father de Montoya, on that missionary's setting out for Madrid, he had expressly recommended that article to him. Accordingly, father de Montoya proposed it to the royal council of the Indies; and represented to that tribunal the absolute impossibility of preserving the reductions, exposed as they were to the incursions of the Portugueze and Indians of Brazil, if the Neophytes were any longer refused the use of fire arms.

He knew very well, that it would be objected, that, if these Indians, on seeing themselves as well armed as the Spaniards, should take it into their heads to revolt, it would be impossible to reduce them; seeing it was impossible to conquer them, when they had no other arms but their arrows and their mancanas. But he obviated this objection, by saying, that the missionaries did not intend to leave these arms at the discretion of the Neophytes; that they were resolved to keep them themselves, with all their ammunition, and never put them into their hands, but when they had good grounds to fear some irruption; nor even keep more in the reductions, than what were necessary to avoid being surprized, but deposit all the rest at the Assumption. He added, that, with his majesty's leave, both arms and ammunition should be purchased with the alms they might receive, so that their lordships need not fear their costing the royal treasury a single farthing; and that, to instruct the Indians in the use of these arms, some lay-brother jesuits, who had served in the army, should be sent for to the kingdom of Chili.

The king approved father de Montoya's reasons, and judged the precautions, with which he sup-

ſupported them, ſufficient to anſwer the purpoſe. His majeſty, therefore, granted every thing the miſſionaries aſked; and ordered his miniſters to give ſuitable directions to the viceroy and the governors of the province of Paraguay. Several perſons have ſince laboured very hard to obtain a revocation of this indulgence; but the catholick king, who ſoon ſaw it was the beſt ſtep they could take, would never liſten to any propoſals for altering the regulations made on that head; and never have had occaſion to repent their ſteadineſs. In fact, not only neither the Mamelus nor their allies have dared to ſhew their faces in the chriſtian reductions, or have been able to penetrate with impunity into the provinces where they are ſituated; but there has ariſen among theſe Neophytes a militia, which, for more than an age paſt, has been the greateſt reſource of their ſovereign in this part of South America, againſt both foreign and domeſtic enemies; and which, notwithſtanding, it does not coſt him a ſingle farthing to pay or to maintain, as we ſhall ſoon have an opportunity to demonſtrate. But what is ſtill moſt ſurprizing in theſe Indian troops, the glory they have acquired by their victories, ſo far from puffing up their hearts, and giving them an air of liberty and independence, as might be naturally apprehended, has put a ſtop to thoſe mutinies, which their reiterated misfortunes had uſed before to occaſion; ſo that their paſtors have never found them more ſubmiſſive and docile, than ſince they procured them the means of living free from the apprehenſions of ſeeing their peace diſturbed. Thoſe, in a word, whoſe valour is the ſureſt palladium of the publick ſecurity, are the firſt to give, on every occaſion, proofs of the moſt inviolable loyalty, and the moſt exemplary devotion.

The miſſionaries could eaſily foreſee this happy alteration, from the minute the Indians diſcovered

the measures these fathers had taken, to put them in a condition of no longer fearing any thing from their enemies. All murmuring immediately ceased; and some jesuits took advantage of this calm to take the field, and run over the province of Tape, and the neighbouring districts, in quest of those, who, at the approach of the Mamelus, had taken shelter there in the woods and mountains; and they had the good fortune to pick up a great number of them, whom they conducted to Itapita. They, next, turned their thoughts to the replacing of those, who had been carried off into Brazil, or whom they had lost by death or desertion; and father Antonio Palermo, followed by a company of the most fervent christians, coasted the Parana, by land, from its discharge into the Paraguay to the place where it receives the Monday; baptized several dying infants in this long and painful course; and returned to his church with one hundred and fifty proselytes.

However, the indulgence, with which the Mamelus had been treated the preceding year, and which had prevented their entire defeat, proved a great obstacle to the entire re-union of the Neophytes, who had dispersed through fear of seeing the war break out again; and this fear was so much the more reasonable, as some parties of the enemy frequently made their appearance in the neighbourhood of those places, where reductions had formerly stood. One of these parties surprized two young Indians, that attended two missionaries then employed in scowering the same country in quest of the dispersed christians; and thought they had sufficiently secured them by tying their hands. But, one night that these children lay stretched in the midst of the gang, finding them all fast asleep, they crept to the fire; put their hands into it; and had courage enough to hold them there

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long enough to burn the ſtrings with which they were bound. They, then, withdrew without being perceived; and by by-roads, with which they happened to be acquainted, rejoined their paſtors after walking fourteen leagues without ſtopping to reſt themſelves.

On the advice they gave, that the Mamelus ſeemed to have ſome notion of approaching the Parana, Don Pedro de Lugo, governor of Paraguay, who had lately received very preciſe orders from his catholic majeſty to omit nothing, that might contribute to the ſafety of the reductions within his province, and who was actually viſiting them with a ſtrong eſcort, aſſembled four thouſand Indians, and led them towards the canton of *Caarupa Guayzu*, where the young Indians had left the enemy. Father Alfaro waited upon him with ſome other Indians; but, having one day taken the lead of the reſt, a Mamelus whom he did not perceive, but by whom he happened to be known, diſcharged a blunderbluſh at him, and tumbled him dead from off his horſe.

As ſoon as the governor heard of this accident, he formed his troops, and fell ſo ſuddenly upon the enemy, who little expected to be ſo ſoon attacked, that, after cutting to pieces all thoſe who made any reſiſtance, he made almoſt all the reſt priſoners. He committed them to the care of the Neophyter, entirely abandoning to their diſcretion all the Tupis who happened to be among them. The Neophytes treated the Tupis ſo well, that they prevailed on them to be inſtructed in our divine myſteries; and, ſoon after baptiſm, put an end to their captivity. As to the Mamelus, they were conducted to the Aſſumption, within eighty leagues of which the battle had been fought; and every one expected they would be puniſhed like banditti taken in arms againſt their ſovereign. But

the governor contented himſelf with reproaching them with their cruelties, and threatening them with the anger of heaven, if they continued their hoſtilities. He, then, ſent them to Buenos Ayres, whoſe governor, at the ſolicitation of ſome of the inhabitants, ſet them at liberty, with leave to return to their own country.

The body of father Alfaro was carried to the reduction of the Conception ſituated on the Uruguay, where it was interred with all the honours the poverty of the Neophytes would admit of; and father Claudius Ruier was appointed ſuperior of the miſſions in his room. He had ſcarce taken poſſeſſion of this employment, when Don Pedro Eſtevan d'Avila, governor of Rio de la Plata, applied to him for eighty Neophytes to be employed in an expedition, the ſucceſs of which, he ſaid might greatly contribute to the ſecurity of the reductions ſituated in this province. The nature of the affair was as follows.

To the eaſt of Rio de la Plata, and about the twenty-eighth or twenty-ninth degree of South latitude, there is a lake of a very irregular figure, eighty leagues in length, and very narrow in proportion to its length. This lake, in the ancient maps, is called the lake of *Caracaras*; and, in the more modern, that of *Ybera*. From the eaſtern extremity of this lake there iſſue two little rivers, one of which falls into the Rio de la Plata, and the other into the Uruguay; the firſt, under the name of *Rio Mirinay*; and the ſecond, under that of *Rio Corrientes*. Father del Techo contents himſelf with ſaying, that the lake, or as he calls it, the marſh of Caracaras, communicates with the Parana. I have elſewhere obſerved, that the name of Parana is often given to that part of the Rio de la Plata, which lies between its junction with the Paraguay and the mouth of the Uruguay.

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The same historian adds, that this lake is covered with floating islands, like those in a little lake near St. Omers; and that they afforded a retreat to Indians of different nations, especially the Caracaras, who having inveigled some Spaniards among them, in 1553, by applying to them for assistance against their enemies, perfidiously massacred them; and actually harboured some renegadoes of the reduction of St. Anne, and the murderers of father Espinosa. The impunity they enjoyed, in consequence of the difficulty of attacking them, had rendered them very insolent. They frequently committed great disorders in the countries about the lake, and had lately burnt to the ground the church belonging to the reduction of St. Anne.

Don Pedro having, at length, resolved to purge his province of such troublesome inmates, father Romero immediately conducted to Buenos Ayres the number of Neophytes, he had required for that purpose. Don Pedro appointed to command them the brave Don Juan de Garay, who, after a hundred leagues march, arrived within sight of the lake, where he found the inhabitants disposed to dispute his entrance. But he found means to embark with all his men; and, though the enemy made pretty good use of all their advantages, he pushed them with so much valour and conduct, that after driving them from island to island, he killed or took prisoner every man of them. It was on this occasion, that the militia of the reductions first shewed what might be expected from them, when well armed and officered; for it appears that they had by this time got fire arms.

1640. This expedition was followed by another, which had not so happy an issue. I said that there were some Calchaquis in the province of Rio de la Plata, near Buenos Ayres. These Indians were no less enemies to the Spaniards, than those

those of the same name, who frequently gave such uneasiness to the province of Tucuman; and they had lately advanced towards Santafe, and ravaged the country about it, from which the governor resolved to drive them. For this purpose he raised some troops, and sent to the reductions of his province for six hundred Indians, whom father Romero, and father Arias, immediately led to his assistance. He, then, put himself at the head of this little army; and marched in good order against the Calchaquis, but without sending, as he ought to have done, to reconnoitre them. He had commanded in Flanders, and obstinately refused to act against these barbarians in any other manner, than he would have done against regular troops; but he paid dear for his imprudence The Calchaquis remained so well posted in their marshes, that he had consumed all his provisions, before he could join them; so that he found himself obliged to retreat, without reaping any other benefit by an expedition, for which he had made vast preparations, than that of carrying home three hundred prisoners taken by the Neophytes.

Father Diaz Tano was, by this, returned to Buenos Ayres, with a numerous reinforcement of missionaries. He had accompanied father de Montoya as far as Madrid, and from thence pursued his journey to Rome. Father Vitelleschi, his general, was overwhelmed with grief on the report he made of the condition, in which he had left the Indian churches of Paraguay; and, unable to give him any other comfort but that of mixing tears with him, he conducted him to the audience of Urban VIII. who then governed the church. This pontiff, equally touched with the general of the company, at the account the missionary gave him of enormities committed by the Mamelus and the Indians of Brazil, immediately gave orders

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for making out a brief, in which he threatened with the anathemas of the church, both the authors and abettors of ſuch ſcandalous diſorders, if they did not immediately put a ſtop to them.

The Pope, then, deſired a minute account of the proceedings of the Jeſuits in Paraguay; and he could not apply to a perſon better qualified to ſatisfy him than father Tano, who forgot nothing to give his holineſs a thorough inſight into the affairs of theſe miſſions; and was, in return, loaded with preſents and other marks of the moſt affectionate tenderneſs for himſelf and his fellow labourers, particularly father Orighi, whoſe brother was actually cardinal, and one of whoſe grand-nephews died lately, inveſted with the ſame dignity. The pope honoured himſelf with the title of his old friend. In ſhort, the pope granted him every thing he could wiſh for, in order to ſecure the tranquility of the new chriſtians. He was even beforehand with father Tano, and would have made him completely happy, could that miſſionary anſwer for the thunder of the Vatican, being ſufficient to put an end to all the evils, of which he had given his holineſs an account.

Finding, on his return to Madrid, that father de Montoya had formed a company of miſſionaries for him, he made what haſte he could to Liſbon, to freight a ſhip for their paſſage. The miſſionaries were on the point of going aboard, the ſhip only waiting for them to put to ſea, when father Tano received notice, that the ſecretary of ſtate, Don Miguel de Vaſconcellos, (the ſame who, ſoon after, ſtained with his blood the ſcene of the revolution of Portugal) had forbid the commandant of the fort of Belem to let their veſſel paſs the bar. Upon this, he had recourſe to the Vicereine, the ducheſs dowager of Mantua; and having immediately obtained from this princeſs a revocation

of the secretary's order, he lost no time in taking the benefit of it.

THE navigation proved pretty favourable, all to the death of two of the missionaries by a disorder which broke out amongst the ship's company, till they arrived in the thirty-fifth degree of south latitude, when a violent north wind drove them to the mouth of the streights of Magellan, from whence they found it impossible to make cape St. Mary, in order to enter into the bay of Rio de la Plata; or even withstand the violence of the storm; so that the pilot was obliged to steer for Rio de Janeyro, where the missionaries were received by the governor, Don Emanuel Sa, with great honours.

SOME days after their arrival, father Tano, with the advice of the ecclesiastical superiors, published the papal briefs we just now mentioned, and thereby brought upon his back most of the inhabitants. The gates of the jesuits college and of their church were forced open; and those religious had every thing to fear from the first transports of the furious multitude, if the governor and magistrates had not run with an armed force to their assistance. Don Emanuel, upon this, assembled the principal inhabitants, and father Tano, who was requested to assist at this meeting, after the briefs had been read, gave an account of every step he had taken on this occasion. But though his conduct was generally approved by the assembly, the populace grew more and more outrageous; so that, in order to appease them, it was found necessary to interpose a pretended appeal to the Pope better instructed. Some have said, that it was the missionary himself, who first gave this advice. Be that as it will, the publication of this appeal put a stop to the sedition. Indeed it was high time to think of some remedy; for father Tano

and father Mota, visitor of the jesuits of Brazil, were on the point of falling victims to it.

It was not so easy to appease the town of Saints, in the province of Rio Janeyro; and still less that of St. Paul of Piratiningue. Don Ferdinand Rodriguez, who officiated as vicar-general in the first, having published the Pope's brief, by order of Don Pedro Albornez, Administrator of the bishoprick, one of the congregation got up, and said, that he appealed to the king's exchequer. Upon this, Rodriguez excommunicated him directly; but, by so doing, rendered part of the inhabitants quite furious. The commanding officer was then requested to take in hand the cause of the publick; and, on his refusing it, the seditious flocked to the church in a tumultuous manner, where they began by vomiting against the vicar all the injuries, the passion with which they were transported could suggest. They, then, fell upon him; knocked him down; and, with a sword to his throat, threatened to murder him, if he did not revoke all he had done. But he would not yield; and his firmness disconcerted them. They then drew up an appeal themselves, and would have forced him to sign it; but they could only get him to declare, that he approved it as far as the rules of the church, and his conscience, would permit him. They then called for the Pope's brief, and he told them the superior of the jesuits had it.

Upon this, they posted directly to the house of these fathers. The superior on hearing the noise which announced their coming, put on his sacerdotal habits; took the holy ciborium into his hands; advanced to the gates of the house; and made a pathetick discourse to them on the respect and obedience due to the vicar of Jesus Christ. Some of them prostrated themselves to adore

adore the Lord's body; others continued ſtanding, ſaying, that, though they adored with all their ſoul the holy ſacrament of the altar, they would never part with their ſlaves, which was all they had to depend upon. One of them went ſo far as to cry out, that they ſhould fire on the prieſt. All called for the brief; and, having got a copy of it, returned to the grand vicar, for his abſolution of the cenſures they might have incurred, but he refuſed it.

THEY, then, applied for it to ſome religious, who judging of the caſe, according to their own manner of ſtating it, told them they had no need of any; the brief importing, that it ſhould be publiſhed, if there was no juſt reaſon for ſuppreſſing it. This anſwer contributed to render the jeſuits ſtill more odious; and nothing was to be heard all over the town but the voices of people crying out, that it was now high time to drive out of it theſe officious defenders of the liberties of the Indians; and the reports of their expulſion having reached Rio Janeyro, the captain of a merchant ſhip then at anchor there, made a general diſcharge of his cannon, to expreſs his joy at the event. But the governor puniſhed him ſeverely for it. He had already cauſed another to be whipt for behaving, in a very inſolent manner, in the church of the jeſuits.

IT was during this ferment that there arrived at Brazil an account of the duke of Braganca having been declared king of Portugal, and of the whole kingdom having acknowledged him in that quality. Father Tano immediately foreſaw what influence this important event might have on the affairs of Paraguay; as well an account of the averſion which the Portugueze ſtill retained for the Spaniards; as becauſe the new king of Portugal might not be ſo ſoon in a condition to ſuppreſs effectually the courſes of the Mamelus, more enraged than ever againſt the jeſuits, whom they had

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but just expelled their city. He even foresaw that this prince might possibly be brought to consider their inroads as a means of weakening, in South America, the power of his catholic majesty, with whom it was impossible he should not have a long war to maintain, in support of his newly acquired royalty. But two other reasons effectually determined him not to make any longer stay in Brazil; the first was, that he feared lest a new revolution should make him lose some of the missionaries he brought from Europe, as they were subjects to the new king; the second, that he had already buried several of them since his arrival at Rio Janeyro. He, therefore, reimbarked the beginning of November, and came to an anchor before Buenos Ayres the latter end of the same month.

Father de Montoya had not been less successful at Madrid, than father Tano had been at Rome. The first thing he did on his arrival there, was to ask an audience of his majesty, who immediately granted it. He presented his memorials to this prince, who perused them with great attention, and named commissaries from among the members of the royal councils of Castile, and the Indies, to examine them, and report their opinion thereon. Father de Montoya required; first, the execution of a law published in 1611, by which the Spaniards were again forbid to deprive of their liberty the Indians who had not been made prisoners in a just war; secondly, that the sovereign Pontif should be requested to confirm the briefs of Paul III. and Clement VIII. forbidding the same iniquitous practice; thirdly, that those who proved disobedient thereto should be judged by the holy office; fourthly, that the Neophytes, who had been made slaves and conducted to Brazil, should be set at liberty; and the Mamelus both repressed and punished.

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These demands and ſome others of leſs importance appeared ſo very juſt and reaſonable to the commiſſaries, that the king, by their advice, ordered an edict to be drawn up, in which his majeſty, after renewing all the preceding decrees relating to the liberty of the Indians, ſignified, that being informed of the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue having ruined all the Indian towns, founded in Guayra by the jeſuits; of their having carried off and reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery upwards of thirty thouſand Neophytes; of their having begun to commit the ſame enormities in Tape, and menacing Uruguay with them; of their having already made ſlaves there of ſome free Indians, and maſſacred others; and all this in contempt of reiterated edicts; and being reſolved to puniſh ſuch monſtrous crimes, he declares, the courſes of the ſaid inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue, commonly called Mamelus, unjuſt, contrary to all laws both human and divine, and to the honour of the chriſtian religion; orders that the cognizance of the ſaid crimes be referred to the tribunal of the holy office; that all the Indians reduced to ſlavery be immediately ſet at liberty; and that ſuch, as hereafter ſhall be convicted of ſo crying an injuſtice and cruelty, ſhould be treated as perſons guilty of high treaſon.

He, then, renewed the edict, forbidding any of the Indians converted by the jeſuits, in Guayra, Tape, Parana and Uruguay, to be conſidered otherwiſe than as immediate vaſſals to the crown, or to be given in command, or obliged to do perſonal ſervice to any ſubject, under any pretext whatſoever. His majeſty regulated by the ſame decree the tribute, which the ſame Neophytes were to pay to his domain. But this laſt article could not be put in execution till the year 1649, becauſe,

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till then, the Indians were not in a condition to pay any tribute; and this epocha must not be forgot, as it will serve to shew the little foundation there was for the accusations brought against the missionaries in regard to this tribute.

But father de Montoya, notwithstanding the facility with which he obtained every thing he asked, was well aware, especially since the revolution of Portugal had happened, that this edict of his majesty would never be sufficient to screen the reductions against the violences of the Mamelus, as long as the Indians had no other arms but their arrows and their mancanas to oppose them with. He, therefore, presented the memorial I already mentioned, in which he made evidently appear the necessity of allowing them the use of fire-arms. The king, having consulted his royal council of the Indies, came to the resolution I have already mentioned. People in Paraguay were greatly surprized at father Montoya's success in so delicate an affair. But besides the council's not finding any thing to reply to the solidity of the reasons, on which the missionary's demand was founded, his eminent virtues, and the great things he had done in Paraguay, had acquired him the general esteem of prince and people. However, the church he had contributed so much to form, and whose interests he had undertaken so long a voyage to defend, never had the happiness of seeing him again. After some unexpected delays in Spain, he passed over to Peru, where he laboured successfully, in conjunction with the viceroy, to execute some orders he had obtained, those especially which related to the construction and use of fire arms in the reductions; he then was ordered to Tucuman, and from Tucuman back again to Lima, where he finished his course in the year 1652, aged seventy. In conse-

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sequence of the idea which the inhabitants of this city had conceived of his eminent sanctity, his body was interred with honours which had more the air of a triumph than a funeral. The viceroy and principal members of the royal audience carried his remains to the grave.

1640-41. About this time, a new attempt was made to reduce the Calchaquis to the faith by means of the jesuits, who were now authorized to assure them, that they should never be subjected to any kind of servitude. The governor of Tucuman, which had suffered greatly by the incursions of these barbarians, had, it seems, lately concluded a peace with them, and judged this was the only method to make it lasting. Accordingly, two jesuits were sent to them; and these fathers, after many dangers and difficulties, had the good fortune to found a reduction among them by the name of St. Charles. Another jesuit, called father Pastor, offered himself to the bishop to make an excursion into Chaco on the same errand; and, his offer being received by this prelate ever solicitous for the salvation of those committed to his care, he immediately set out with another called Gaspard Çerqueyra, who, being born at the Assumption, was master of the Abipone language current in all this part of Chaco. But, as the Indians on the frontiers of Tucuman were too jealous of the Spaniards to listen willingly to any preachers, they resolved not to stop, till they had reached the *Abipones*, a nation settled at the eastern extremity of this extensive country.

The first place they made any considerable stay at, was a large Indian town called *Matara*, one hundred leagues from Santiago, where they had been given to understand they would find guides to conduct them to the Abipones. Besides, the Mataranes called themselves christians; and, in fact,

fact, ſeveral perſons had been baptized at Matara by St. Francis Solano; and, after him, by two jeſuits, who had preached the goſpel there; and ſome of them even had pretty well perſevered in the practice of the chief duties of religion, though they ſcarce knew any thing of the principles of it; all the ministry of a clergyman ſent them lately from Buenos Ayres, with the title of pariſh prieſt, conſiſting in baptizing and inſtructing the children of thoſe who called themſelves chriſtians. Had he contented himſelf with conferring that ſacrament upon ſuch as were in danger of dying, his zeal would have been commendable; but he viſibly expoſed the reſt to the danger of diſhonouring the character he conferred on them; for they ſeldom ſaw him again when they grew up a little, but profaned the exerciſes of religion with ſeveral ſuperſtitious practices, and abandoned themſelves to all the exceſſes, of which the infidels gave them the example.

The only, or, at leaſt, the moſt ordinary, occupation of the Mataranes, was to viſit and regale each other; but their feaſts always terminated in a general intoxication. They celebrated the anniverſary of the death of their kinſmen in a pretty odd manner; they invited all their friends and relations to it, and every one of the gueſts was obliged to bring with him a dead oſtrich. If it happened to be the anniverſary of more perſons than one, then the gueſts were to bring, each, as many oſtriches, as there were deaths to be commemorated, becauſe, in a kind of funeral proceſſion made on theſe occaſions, and attended with extraordinary ceremonies, each of the deceaſed was to be repreſented by his own oſtrich. The gueſts, likewiſe, made a preſent to the perſon who had invited them; and who, by accepting it, laid himſelf under the obligation of returning the compliment in kind,

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when he ſhould be invited by them. This engagement even deſcended to his heirs, when he had not time to ſatisfy it himſelf; and to fail in it would have been deemed a juſt cauſe of war between the different towns to which the parties belonged. Theſe ſolemnities laſted four days, on the laſt of which the company bewailed the deceaſed for the ſpace of an hour. Theſe tears were ſucceeded by immoderate laughter, by dancing and feaſting, during which it was an indiſpenſable duty to get drunk. They, then, put an end to the meeting by a kind of bacchanalian rites, attended by all the diſorders that might be expected from ſuch an improvement upon their natural barbarity.

THE jeſuits, however, found them pretty docile; eaſily prevailed on thoſe who had been baptized, to confeſs themſelves; and left them all in the beſt diſpoſitions. The cacique even inſiſted on accompanying them with a good eſcort, as far as the Abipones; but, though he and his ſubjects might be ſuppoſed to know the country they had to paſs through, they, in a ſhort time, were ſo diſheartened by the dangers and difficulties of the journey, that they would have turned back, if the fathers had not found means to detain them by little preſents. But, when they found themſelves on the point of entering the country of the Abipones, their courage forſook them to ſuch a degree, (for it ſeems they and the Abipones had been at war for ſome time paſt) that father Paſtor had much ado to re-aſſure them. Two of them, however, had reſolution to accompany father de Cerqueira, whom father Paſtor thought proper to ſend forward, in order to diſcover on what ſide it was propereſt to enter the country.

THESE reconnoiterers were ſoon diſcovered; and, the alarm ſpread ſo ſuddenly all over the country, that in a ſhort time they could diſcover two

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hundred Indians on horſeback, but without ſaddles or ſtirrups, making towards them in full gallop. But, though their wild and ſavage looks, their looſe diſordered hair, and the long javelins they held in their hands, might well be ſuppoſed capable of ſtriking terror into a man, who ſaw himſelf alone in a manner, and at their diſcretion; the miſſionary, full of confidence in him, without whoſe permiſſion they could not touch a ſingle hair of his head, immediately doubled his pace to meet them; and, lifting up his crucifix, "Children," cried he, two of my brethren formerly announced the goſpel to your nation, whoſe eſteem, and even confidence, they acquired. Animated by the ſame zeal for the ſalvation of your ſouls, I am likewiſe come a great way, in ſpite of a thouſand dangers and difficulties, to endeavour to make you open your eyes to your neareſt concerns. 'Tis in vain you attempt to terrify me. Death, with which you threaten me, is the chief object of my wiſhes. But I conjure you not to ſpurn at a benefit, of which you would too late repent the loſs. Beſides, what have you to fear from a ſingle man, and without arms? The confidence with which I put myſelf into your power ought to convince you, that I am come here merely to ſerve you."

The barbarians, at firſt, ſtunned by the boldneſs of the apoſtolic man, were, in a ſhort time, ſo charmed with his diſcourſe, that they threw their arms at his feet; and ſaluted him with the profoundeſt reſpect. He, then, told them, that he had left at ſome diſtance behind him his ſuperior, a man advanced in years, and greatly eſteemed by ſeveral Indian nations. Upon this, the commander of the troop immediately diſpatched his ſon to invite father Paſtor, in his name, to come and ſee him; and, the moment the young Indian perceived him, he alighted from his horſe, ſaluted him reſpectfully, and told

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him, that his father longed greatly to see him. The missionary, transported at so unexpected an invitation, immediately set out, and was very well received by the commander, who conducted him with his companion, to the nearest town, followed by all his horsemen. Here they entered, as it were, in triumph, amidst the inhabitants, who were come to meet them, and conducted them to a cabin, the floor of which they had the precaution, or rather politeness, to cover with skins. Refreshments were then laid before them, but so nauseous, that, notwithstanding their great want of food, and their having been accustomed, for a long time past, to the most insipid, the very sight of it turned their stomachs; and they had much ado to get down a few morsels, and conceal their disgust.

THE second day after their arrival, the principal cacique of the nation, called *Caliquila*, being informed by father Pastor of his design to make an establishment in the country, he not only gave his consent, but even expressed great joy at it; and conducted the two missionaries to his own town, situated at the other side of the red river. As soon as they were arrived there, he begged them to give him a circumstantial account of what they intended to do; and on their complying, told them, that he was very well satisfied the children should be baptized, provided they should not be obliged to go morning and evening to church, as they did in the reductions of the Guaranis; since it could not fail of producing in them a habit of idleness, and, thereby, rendering them less fit for war, as it had happened to the Mataranes.

FATHER Pastor replied, that religious exercises could by no means tend to lessen a man's courage; and that the Spaniards, and even the Guaranis of whom he had been speaking, were a striking proof of it; that, on the contrary, they contributed

buted greatly to inspire true valour; and that the Mataranes had never been braver, than while they continued good christians. Caliquila yielded to these examples; but he added, that he would not suffer, that the Abipones should be hindered from carrying their arms into church along with them, or beat with rods, when they had committed any fault, as was customary in the reductions, and among the Spaniards. The father gave up these two points, knowing that he might speak to them again, when religion had taken a deeper root in their hearts. They, then, required, that the caciques, and all the adults who might die in the christian religion, should be buried on the tops of the mountains, near the monuments erected in honour of their divinities. Father Pastor made answer, that this was a superstition incompatible with the holiness of the christian religion; and that, by the time he should have instructed them better, they would, themselves, be the first to condemn it. To this they made no reply, and from their silence he concluded, that he should easily make them give up this article, likewise.

After a month's stay among the Abipones, father de Cerqueyra set out to reconduct the Mataranes to their own country; and father Pastor, to compensate the loss of his companion, not content with the separate instructions he every day gave to the children and adults, composed, with the assistance of an interpreter left him by father Cerqueyra, a little catechism in the *Tonocote* language, which is current all over this country. He was soon after obliged to return to Santiago, to the no small concern of the Abipones, to whom he promised that he would by no means abandon them. Accordingly, he very often applied to his provincial in their behalf; but the reductions in

the province of Uruguay, which were growing more numerous from one day to another, required ſo many miſſionaries, that it was impoſſible to let the Abipones have one. Perhaps, it did not appear as evidently then, as it has done ſince, of what importance it was to make a ſolid eſtabliſhment in this part of Chaco, and gain over a nation, which might have contributed to it more than any other, and which on being neglected, came to be one of the crueleſt enemies to the chriſtian reductions. Be that as it will, the ſcarcity of miſſionaries was ſoon after encreaſed, in conſequence of an edict iſſued by the royal council of the Indies, forbidding any miſſionaries to enter Paraguay, but ſuch as were natural born ſubjects of the crown of Spain; ſo that father Paſtor, who had been ſent over to Europe to ſolicit a reinforcement of evangelical labourers, of a numerous body gathered at Seville to accompany him back, could take with him but one prieſt and thirteen novices and ſtudents. This was not the only time the propagation of the goſpel in Paraguay received a check from reſtrictions of this kind. The royal council of the Indies did not as yet penetrate the motives of thoſe, who inſpired this miſtruſt, to which the conduct of former foreign miſſionaries had not given the leaſt room.

THE Abipones are in general above the middle ſtature, and of a robuſt conſtitution, In ſummer they go quite naked; but in winter cover themſelves with ſkins. They hang their mancanas to their neck; carry a quiver flung acroſs their ſhoulders; and never go without a bow in their right hand, and a javelin or very long arrow in the left. They paint themſelves all over with different colours, and thoſe think themſelves handſomeſt, who make themſelves look moſt like tigers. They make holes in their lips and noſtrils, and ſeveral

parts

parts of their ſkins, to ſtick oſtrich feathers into them; and to ſee them thus cloathed all over with feathers, one would imagine they wanted to ſoar into the air. The beard appears ſo hideous a thing to them, that, when the leaſt hair appears, they directly pull it up by the roots.

To have a right to wear his hair among theſe Indians, a man muſt have killed an enemy; and, to attain to military honours, and acquire any reputation for courage and bravery, he muſt have paſſed through tryals like thoſe I deſcribed in ſpeaking of the Guaycuras. The Abipones, from their infancy, accuſtom themſelves to the greateſt inſenſibility, by inflicting the ſharpeſt pains on themſelves, ſo that they, at laſt, bring themſelves to laugh under the ſevereſt. After all, we muſt allow, that theſe barbarians have a true notion of courage, which conſiſts more, and ſhews itſelf better, in a conſtancy to ſuffer great evils, than in a readineſs to expoſe one's ſelf to the greateſt dangers.

The women, among the Abipones, are covered from the waiſt to the knees; and pricked all over the reſt of the body; but eſpecially the face and boſom. Very often, all that can be ſeen of their ſkins is a kind of moſaic work, compoſed of different colours ſunk into the ſkin; and all of them ſhave the back part of their head. At the death of a cacique, the whole nation, both men and women change names, and eat no fiſh for a month. They ſeldom rear but one child of each ſex, murdering the reſt as faſt as they come into the world, till the eldeſt are ſtrong enough to walk alone. They think to juſtify this cruelty by ſaying, that, as they are almoſt conſtantly travelling from one place to another, it is impoſſible for them to take care of more infants than two at a time; one to be carried by the father, and the other by the mother.

The old women take upon them to be great witches; and it would be no easy matter to convert them. Father Pastor, having one day visited one of them at the point of death, and having told her that if she died without baptism, her soul would be eternally tormented by the devils, she very calmly answered, that they had been her friends for a long time; and she was, therefore, very sure that they would do her no harm. However, to judge of matters by the dispositions, in which the missionaries left these Indians, there is all the reason in the world to believe, that the gospel would make the greatest progress among them. At least it is certain, that no one could be better disposed than Caliquila, at the time father Pastor was obliged to quit him. This cacique, finding it impossible to detain him any longer, accompanied him, with several of his vassals, to Santiago; found him in provisions during the whole journey; and assured him, at his departure to return home, that the fathers of the company would be well received in every place where he had the least credit.

To re-assume the thread of our history; at the time that father Pastor was preparing to make Jesus Christ known to the Abipones, the missionaries between the Parana and the Uruguay, having received certain advice, that the Mamelus were making great preparations of war, formed, out of all the militia of the reductions, a body of four thousand men, some armed with arrows, and some with slings; for as yet they could only give fire-arms to the officers, who amounted to three hundred. This little army took post in a spot within a day's march of the enemy, who were already remounting the little river Acaray, in three hundred pirogues, to the number of four hundred Mamelus and three hundred and seventy Tupis. But, notwithstanding their inferiority, they despised

ſed the Neophytes ſo much, that, as ſoon as they received intelligence of their approach, they tugged harder than ever at their oars to join them.

The chriſtians were poſted in a little gulf, under the command of a cacique called *Abiaru*, who, ſeeing, the enemy come towards them with ſo much confidence, thought proper to encreaſe it, by pretending to fear them. He, therefore, remounted the Acaray with five or ſix pirogues, as if he only intended to parley with them. The Mamelus permitted him to approach; but when he was within hearing, the commander ordered him to be told, that he had nothing to do but ſurrender at diſcretion. Abiaru, upon this, aſſuming an air of intrepidity, reproached the commander, who was come forward to receive his anſwer, with the cruelty and injuſtice, with which his nation had treated chriſtians, who had never given him the leaſt cauſe of complaint; aſſured him, that they were all reſolved to periſh rather than loſe their liberty; and added, that it was a ſhame for men who called themſelves chriſtians, to attempt to deprive, of it, thoſe who profeſſed the ſame religion.

The commander, inſtead of making any anſwer, ordered his little fleet to keep moving on, till, at length, he diſcovered that of the Neophytes making towards him leiſurely in the fineſt order. The next moment, the chriſtians began the battle by a diſcharge of a cannon, which ſunk three of the enemy's pirogues. The miſſionaries and the old men with the women and children, were all this time on the banks of the river, invoking with a loud voice, the apoſtle of the Indies; nor was it in vain. The enemy being very roughly handled by water, imagined they might have better fortune aſhore; but they were greatly miſtaken. The Neophytes attacked them with ſo much reſolution, that they muſt have entirely

defeated them, had not night favoured their retreat. For, though Abiaru had loſt but three men, he thought better to give his ſoldiers, greatly fatigued, ſome little reſpite, than purſue the enemy in the dark, at the riſk of falling into ſome ambuſcade.

THE next day, the Mamelus appeared again in order of battle; upon which the Neophytes likewiſe formed, and marched up to them; and, as the enemy had loſt a great number of men the preceding day, Abiaru extended his troops to incloſe them. He then attacked them ſo ſuddenly, that they fell directly into diſorder; and what followed, was rather a butchering, than a battle. A ſudden hurricane having parted the two armies, the few Mamelus, who remained, took advantage of it to fly into a wood, whither, the ſtorm having ſoon abated, the Neophytes purſued them. This produced a third engagement, which, though carried on in ſmall parties, was attended with great bloodſhed. At laſt, the enemy, after a pretty vigorous reſiſtance, took advantage of their ſituation to retreat. The greateſt loſs fell on the Tupis, ſeveral of whom came in afterwards and ſurrendered to the chriſtians, being no longer able, they ſaid, to put up with the pride and cruelty of the Mamelus. Abiaru's loſs, in the two laſt engagements, amounted, as in the firſt, to but three men killed and forty wounded.

THE Mamelus, afraid for the future to approach the Indians of the reductions, attacked, in ſmall parties, ſuch other Indians, as they could meet with. But they had ſoon reaſon to grow ſick of this new attempt. The Neophytes of the reduction of St. Thereſa, after the deſtruction of that town, had fled for refuge towards the great river Tebiquari; and ſome wild Indians, even of theſe in alliance with

with the Mamelus, happening to meet with a party of them, joined them as friends, and were received as such. But, when the Banditti least expected it, they fell upon them, cut them to pieces; and then made the best of their way to the reductions on the Parana. Other wild Indians, who had been attacked by two other parties of these banditti, having had the good fortune to get the better of them, massacred them all without mercy. From these little losses, which served greatly to keep the new christians upon their guard, they reaped as considerable advantages, as from their victories, which had cost twelve hundred Mamelus their lives, and destroyed a great part of their auxillary troops. The chief of these advantages was the re-union of almost all those, who, for fear of being made slaves, had fled from the reductions, and the release of several, whom the Mamelus had, even lately, carried off, and whom they could not now keep so good a watch upon, on account of the perpetual apprehensions they were under of being taken themselves.

1642. THE reductions, at this time, enjoyed a tranquility so much the more agreeable, as it seemed no longer in the power of the Mamelus to interrupt it; and the form of their government had almost attained the perfection, in which we now behold it. Those in the two provinces of Parana and Uruguay amounted to twenty-nine, including such as had been lately repaired; and each had two priests, very much taken up in reviving the fervour of the Neophytes, greatly abated by their late misfortunes, especially in the province of Uruguay; and in taking proper measures to fill up the vacancies among them. But, though the Mamelus durst not attack the reductions, they prowled about the woods and desarts in order to carry off all the Indians they could meet with;

with; and a great number of Indians, that it had not as yet been possible to rally, fell into their hands, and were very cruelly treated by them. These banditti having attempted the virtue of their female captives, murdered a widow, who had refused to comply with their brutal passion; a body of the Neophytes, as soon as the report of these disorders reached the reductions, took the field; pursued the miscreants to the mountains of Tape; killed the greatest part of them; and delivered upwards of two thousand captives, among whom there happened to be several infidels, who gave themselves up to their deliverers; and, in a short time, became excellent christians. This success at last convinced the Mamelus, that it was dangerous for them to appear even in the neighbourhood of the reductions.

But, while the Jesuits and the new christians were triumphing over a foreign enemy, they were daily approaching the danger of being ruined by a domestic one. This was the celebrated Don Bernardin de Cardenas, born in the city of la Plata, of a very noble family, who had entered very young into the order of St. Francis, in which, besides leading a most mortified life, he made such a figure, both as a preacher and a missionary, that, though he had been first stripped of the guardianship of the convent at la Plata, on account of his indiscretions, and afterwards silenced, he was, through the recommendation of one of the principal magistrates of the country, named by his catholick majesty to the bishoprick of the Assumption. Don Bernardin had no sooner received the news of his promotion, than he immediately began to take all, if not more liberties in the diocese of la Plata, than it entitled him to in his own. But it was not long before he gave the archbishop just reason to write him a letter civilly requesting

him to go and govern that, to which he had been named, in conformity to the king's brevet, till he ſhould receive his bulls, and be conſecrated; it being cuſtomary with the chapters of South America, as ſoon as they receive the king's brevet, to chuſe the perſon named in it, to govern the dioceſe.

Don Bernardin, convinced that this requeſt was but a civil order, with which his metropolitan could ſoon find means to make him comply, immediately withdrew. But, as he did not chuſe to appear at the Aſſumption till he had been conſecrated, he repaired to Salta in the dioceſe of Tucuman, where, on the ſtrength of a letter, (the authenticity of which has never been proved, which, beſides, was dated about eighteen months before his being named to the biſhoprick of the Aſſumption,) from a cardinal at Rome, mentioning the expedition of his bulls, the jeſuits ſettled there gave him an opinion in writing, that he might be conſecrated, without having them to preſent. The jeſuits of the univerſity of Corduba, when wrote to for a confirmation of this opinion, flatly contradicted it. But Don Bernardin ſuppreſſed this letter; and, by producing the opinion of the jeſuits at Salta, prevailed on Don Melchior Maldonado, biſhop of Tucuman, to conſecrate him.

Some time after Don Bernardin embarked on the Paraguay for the Aſſumption. On entering his dioceſe, he diſcovered two barks with deputies on board, ſent to compliment him in the name of all the different orders of that capital, and preſent him with all manner of refreſhments. Theſe barks were followed by ſeveral others full of people of all ranks, impatient to ſee a biſhop, of whom they had heard ſuch wonders. At nightfall, he begged they might withdraw, and leave him to himſelf; but the deputies anſwered, that they could not leave him, being charged to have a ſtrict eye

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to the ſecurity of his perſon; but that they would take the greateſt care not to interrupt his reſt. Towards midnight, they were greatly ſurprized to find themſelves awakened by a long and ſevere diſcipline, which the prelate gave himſelf; and, as the ſame thing happened the following nights; and he every day pontifically celebrated the divine myſteries, the banks of the river and the adjacent country continually rang with the bleſſings given him by both Indians and Spaniards, ſeveral of whom poſted to the capital, to announce the arrival of a ſecond St. Thomas.

Don Bernardin landed four leagues from the city, and entered a farm-houſe belonging to the jeſuits, who were aſſembled there to receive him, and were greatly ſurprized at the reception he gave them, conſidering that he had expreſſed the greateſt indignation at their brethren of Corduba. But the prelate had his reaſons for behaving in this manner. Reſolved, as he was, to take poſſeſſion of his biſhoprick the minute he arrived at the Aſſumption, he was afraid of encreaſing the oppoſition he might meet; and judged, that the jeſuits, though they did not approve his proceedings, would have diſcretion enough not to blame them.

Don Bernardin no ſooner reached the Aſſumption, than, without waiting to be choſen by his chapter to exerciſe the epiſcopal functions, 'till his bulls ſhould arrive, he began to act the part of a biſhop in every reſpect. This determined the moſt reſpectable part of it, both for number and authority, not only to oppoſe his exerciſing any juriſdiction, but even to ſeparate from him, in order to celebrate the divine myſteries in ſome other church. None of the regular clergy, except the jeſuits, had a church fit for their reception; and the ſeculars were afraid to give them any, leſt they might incur the diſpleaſure of their new

new bishop. The jesuits, therefore, lent them theirs; but not till they had good reason to think, that Don Bernardin would not be offended at it.

THIS irregularity in Don Bernardin was soon followed by several others; such as taking the parishes, that became vacant, into his own hands, as well as the revenues of them, and saying mass two or three times a day, on pretence that he had not priests enough to answer the necessities of his flock. But, his mortified life, his care to make his priests punctually celebrate mass, and his assiduity to celebrate it himself pontifically, after assisting on his knees at those said by his priests, joined to his daily exhortations, made such an impression on the minds of the people, as to make most of them overlook, what otherwise they could not fail to discover amiss in his proceedings.

THE person, whose esteem Don Bernardin wished most, in all appearance, to acquire, was the governor, Don Gregorio de Hinistrosa, whom, therefore, as well as his brother, father Hinistrosa, a friar, he received, when they came to the cathedral, with unusal honours, which the governor often repaid with an ill-placed complaisance, that the bishop never failed to make his advantage of. Accordingly, it was not long, before Don Bernardin, taking it into his head that it was his duty to see executed a sentence of demolition, passed some time before, by the royal audience of Charcas, on one of the convents of the city, for having been built without the king's leave, he brought the governor to assist him; though no complaint had been made of the inhabitants against the owners, who, besides, there is great reason to think had obtained a respite of the sentence, till the pleasure of the Spanish court could be known on the occasion.

SOME

Some time after this, Don Bernardin received the pope's bulls, and the king's brevets; and took care to read them himself to his flock; omitting however, some clauses in the first, which destroyed their validity, in consequence of the irregularities attending his consecration. He then made a discourse suitable to the occasion, and concluded it by saying, that nobody, he hoped, would any longer doubt of his being invested with unlimited power, both spiritual and temporal.

The governor thought proper to dissemble, for the present, the offence which it was impossible for these words not to give him. But he soon shewed, that he paid very little regard to them, by sending to prison one Moralez, an officer of the inquisition, who had quarrelled with a civil officer; and even threatening, it is said, to hang him. The bishop, informed of every thing by his nephew, a friar of the order of St. Francis, on whom, though unworthy of them, by the secular, or rather dissolute, life he led, he had heaped many favours, on account of his having brought him his bulls and brevets; and spirited up by his representing to him the right of Moralez not to be prosecuted in any secular tribunal, immediately proceeded to the prison, with the holy sacrament in his hands, to demand the discharge of Moralez; and, on the gaoler's refusing to comply, ordered a table to be brought out, and placed the vessel, carrying the holy sacrament, upon it.

The rector of the college, who happened to come by, while the bishop and his attendants were waiting to see Moralez discharged, having exhausted, to no purpose, all his rhetorick, at the impropriety of exposing the sacrament, and even the episcopal dignity, in such a place, and on such an occasion; and thinking that the release of Moralez would be the least of the two evils, repaired to the governor,

governor, and prevailed upon him to consent to it. Don Bernardin, not satisfied with this victory, thought proper to send to the governor for the money and papers seized at Moralez's house; and the governor was weak enough to return them, in spite of all the remonstrances of his brother against it, who, tho' an ecclesiastick, and even a friar, had too much good sense and spirit, not to openly censure the indecency and illegality of the bishop's proceedings. Don Bernardin then gave Moralez the tonsure and the minor orders, thinking thereby to keep him still further out of the governor's reach. This adventure proved ample matter of joke to many, who could see, with indifference, the spiritual power so abused, and the civil so despised. It was, they said, to be wished, that the bishop and the governor should never agree, since their agreeing had produced the demolition of a church; and their disagreeing, the enlargement of a prisoner.

Whatever the governor's motives might be, in thus tamely submitting to the indignities offered him by the bishop, he soon proved that it was not avarice. The bishop, having expressed a liking for some plate of his, as fit for the church, the governor immediately sent it to him, and ordered it to be presented to him in the church, that the people might see that he retained no animosity against him. In return, the bishop, on receiving the present, spoke greatly in favour of the governor; but he had, it seems, his views in so doing: for the moment he had finished his harangue to the people, he called to the governor's messengers, and told them, that all he now wanted was the bason and ewers which he had seen at their master's. Don Gregorio, on hearing it, immediately sent them, with assurances, that he had nothing to which Don Bernardin was not perfectly welcome.

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THIS was promising too much, to one of Don Bernardin's character; accordingly, Don Gregorio had soon reason to repent it. These first demands of the bishop were immediately followed by such others, as the governor could not comply with, without betraying the rights of others, as he had before done his own; and his refusal to comply, with such indecent usage, as the governor could not help returning, by reproaching the bishop with his avarice, and the scandals he permitted in his house. The bishop, pierced to the quick by such unexpected accusations, the more mortifying by being just, affected to consider them as a calumny; and a few days after excommunicated the governor, who, thereupon, rather than give occasion to any scandal, voluntarily absented himself from a procession, in which he was to carry the royal standard.

GREAT as the governor's moderation must have been, to behave in this manner, it did not satisfy father Cardenas, the bishop's nephew, who, therefore, insulted him openly in the streets. Though the governor made no return to these insults, for the present, but by desiring father Cardenas, not to tempt him any further; he did not forget them; and he accordingly came some days after, with an armed force, to seize him in his uncle's palace. But not only father Cardenas slipt out of his hands, but the bishop excommunicated him again, with all the soldiers who accompanied him; and at the same time, imposed a fine of fifty crowns upon every one of them.

BUT, when the bishop's anger cooled a little, he thought better of the matter, and sent word to the governor, that he was very well disposed to absolve him. Though Don Gregorio made no great account of the first excommunication, the second gave him some uneasiness; so that he was

very

very glad that the biſhop ſhould thus, of himſelf, offer to abſolve him. He, therefore, immediately repaired to the epiſcopal palace, and threw himſelf on his knees, the moment he came into the biſhop's preſence. The biſhop ſurprized and diſconcerted, did the ſame. The governor, then, called for the biſhop's hand, to kiſs it. The biſhop, in his turn, deſired to kiſs the governor's; and would have done it, if the rector of the college, who happened to be preſent, had not interpoſed. To ſee the governor, and the biſhop, placed oppoſite to each other, in this poſture, it would have been hard to gueſs, which was the judge, and which the culprit. At length, the biſhop abſolved the governor and his ſoldiers from the eccleſiaſtical cenſure, which they had incurred; but inſiſted on the latter's paying the fine of fifty crowns, impoſed upon them.

By this time, the biſhop had taken ſuch a liking to the ſpiritual arms of the church, which ought never to be uſed, but againſt ſpiritual tranſgreſſors guilty of ſcandal, and merely to deprive them of a participation in ſpiritual matters; that he employed them, indifferently, againſt all tranſgreſſors, and in all matters; ſo as to bring them, at laſt, into almoſt general contempt. He affected to conſider every one, who gave him any perſonal affront, as an enemy to the church; and every one who ſhewed him any perſonal reſpect, as her friend. The governor, on his ſide, betrayed great weakneſs in the exerciſe of his temporal authority; ſometimes carrying it farther than there was any occaſion for; and, at other times, ſhewing equal remiſſneſs in the exerciſe of it. But, though the biſhop was much more to blame than the governor, the great ſhew of piety which he ſtill made, accompanied by a great flow of eloquence, intermixed with tears and ſighs, and the affectation of

some extraordinary gifts, so captivated the generality of his diocese, that he was permitted to go the most unusual lengths; excommunicating the governor again and again, and the other officers most necessary to the due administration of civil justice; and taxing their absolution at most extraordinary sums, in matters not within his jurisdiction; or, if they were, for offences so slight in themselves, or committed in consequence of such provocation, as by no means to deserve any extraordinary animadversion. At length, he repeatedly interdicted several convents, and even almost all the churches and priests of the capital, from a spirit of resentment against a few individuals.

As the governor had but too just reason to conclude, that father de Cardenas, besides his having insulted the royal authority, in the person of the king's representative, and disturbed the public peace by his conversation and libels, was the chief promoter of all his uncle's violences, he, even without consulting his brother, took him one night, by force, out of the Franciscan convent, the guardian of which had refused to give him up by fair means, on pretence of his being of the bishop's houshold, as the bishop had done before, on pretence of his belonging to the convent; ordered him to be left, bound hand and foot, on an eminence in the neighbourhood, on the banks of the river; and, when he had remained there for two days, in that condition, without any nourishment, or any bed to lie on, but the bare earth, and exposed to all the injuries of the weather, and stings of every kind of insect, sent him to Corrientes, on board an Indian bark, wrapped up in a woman's cap and cloak, and with a very small quantity of biscuit and salt meat to subsist on, during the voyage. On the other hand, the bishop suspecting father Hinistrosa to be the chief pro-

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moter of this violence of his brother, and the spirit of resistence he now began to shew, banished him the diocese.

In the mean time, all was confusion in the capital. The governor and the bishop no longer kept any measures with each other; and all the inhabitants sided with one or the other, according as their views or interests directed them. Don Gregorio aimed at nothing less than making himself master of the bishop's person, who, on his side, did all that lay in his power to seize that of the governor, when he thought he had sufficiently inflamed his flock against him; and nothing was now to be heard, in every quarter of the city, but the confused and alarming noise of bells, drums, and trumpets.

The jesuits were amongst those, who alternately experienced Don Bernardin's good or ill-will; and that, very often, in one and the same day, both from the pulpit, and in private conversation. In his first letters to the king, he represented them as the only ecclesiasticks duly qualified for the arduous task of civilizing, and converting the Indians But he, at length, so entirely changed his note, that he inveighed against them, as persons guilty of high treason, by depriving the crown of so many vassals; and even rapine, by robbing the subjects of so many servants; though he could not but know, that their strenuous defence of the Indians, from the drudgery of personal service, was what had most contributed to their success in reducing them.

1643. Don Bernardin, at last, tired with that confusion, of which he had been the sole author, and not having discretion or resolution enough to put an end to it, by absolving the objects of his anger and avarice from the heavy excommunications and fines he had imposed upon

them, thought the beſt thing he could do, was to leave them all to themſelves. He therefore embarked on the Paraguay, on Whitſun-eve, leaving with his vicar a written order, for the interdiction of divine ſervice, in all places where the governor might happen to be. But the chapter, out of reſpect to ſo great a ſolemnity, hindered the vicar from publiſhing it, till the Monday following; when the names of the governor and ſeveral others were found ſtuck up on the excommunication table without any cauſe being aſſigned for excommunicating them. Many perſons conſidered ſo irregular an act, as null and void in itſelf; ſo that ſome churches were kept conſtantly open, and others conſtantly ſhut. The governor, in particular, alledged, that, in virtue of his office, he could not be conſidered as a perſon exteriorly excommunicated, and that he ought to be abſolved. The jeſuits, being obliged to ſpeak on the occaſion, gave it as their opinion, that, as he had no war on his hands, he ſhould, however, to avoid giving ſcandal, conſider himſelf as ſuch, till abſolved by the biſhop himſelf. But the friars of two other convents deciding, that the vicar-general ought to abſolve him, Don Gregorio went, for that purpoſe, at the head of his garriſon, to the vicar's houſe, and, on his refuſing to do it, ordered the doors and windows to be nailed up; and then ſent him word, that, till he did, no one ſhould be permitted to go in or out. But the vicar-general holding out notwithſtanding, the governor, tired with waiting, diſmiſſed his troops, and retired.

On his return home, he cauſed depoſitions to be taken of all the diſorders committed or occaſioned by Don Bernardin, ſince his arrival in his dioceſe; and ſent them to the royal audience of Charcas. Don Bernardin, on the news of it, ſent ſome memorials to the ſame tribunal, in which he

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charged the governor, upon oath, with the most odious crimes. This, however, proved a fortunate step for both the governor and the inhabitants in general, as it furnished father Truxillo, a Franciscan, whom the bishop had appointed his vicegerent and vicar-general, with full power to take off the interdict and absolve of all censures, a just motive for restoring tranquility. For, finding, that both interdict and excommunications were so ill grounded he took them all off, in consideration of the affair being removed, both as civil and criminal, before the superior tribunals; and the parties excommunicated binding themselves in body and goods to submit to the sentence of such superior courts. This step of father Truxillo's was productive of what some deemed a still happier consequence: it produced in Don Bernardin so violent a hurry to get back to the Assumption, that, though he had taken into his head to visit the reductions under the jesuits, which might have possibly been ruined, even by his zeal to forward them; and one of their pastors was come to conduct him, with a party of Indians, and every thing requisite to make his visit safe and agreeable to him; he just gave himself time to pass through one of them.

But great as his hurry was, he thought proper to stop short at Yaguaron, a large Indian town eight leagues from the Assumption; and, to avoid being interrupted there, issued a strong order, forbidding all persons, except the regular clergy, to come there without his leave, under pain of excommunication, and a fine of fifty crowns. Having afterwards invited, in the most friendly manner, Don Diego Pontius de Leon, treasurer of his chapter; and Don Ferdinand Sanchez, another of his canons; to come and see him; instead of giving them the reception they expected, he abused them as traitors to

their biſhop and the church; and then, without permitting them to utter a ſingle ſyllable, ordered them to be ſhut up ſeparately in different rooms, where they continued, in ſpite of all the ſuperiors of the ſeveral convents of the Aſſumption could do, for the ſpace of forty days, when they had the good fortune to make their eſcape; the treaſurer, to Corrientes; the canon, to the Aſſumption, where he took refuge in the houſe of the governor, who gave him a very friendly reception.

Now, at length, Don Gregorio, theſe two eccleſiaſticks, and all others who wiſhed well to the governor, or ill to the biſhop, began to deliberate on the propriety of withdrawing from the juriſdiction of a prelate, who, according to the opinion of the vice-provincials of the franciſcans and dominicans, ſtrongly ſupported by the canons arguments, never had any; and ſoon reſolved upon doing it. But, unfortunately for the peace of the province, the biſhop happening to get intelligence of it, publiſhed an ordinance declaring null and void all the abſolutions given by Father Truxillo. Soon after, he publiſhed a ſentence of excommunication againſt the treaſurer and canon; an inhibition to treat with or even ſpeak to the governor; and at length laid the whole city under an interdict, Chriſtmas day and that of the circumciſion, in the church of the college only excepted. At the ſame time, he thought proper to add to theſe diſorders by exempting, of his own authority, ſeveral Indians bound to perſonal ſervice; particularly all thoſe belonging to the perſons he had excommunicated.

The governor, deeply affected at ſo many diſorders, and unable to remedy them, the fear people had conceived of the biſhop having almoſt entirely annihilated his authority, at laſt reſolved to be reconciled to him, and repaired for that purpoſe to Yaguaron, attended only by his ſecretary and a

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few officers. On his arrival, he could not find a house willing to receive him, nor did any one offer to do him the least service; all avoiding him as an excommunicated person. However, as he sincerely desired to be absolved, he resolved to drink the cup to the very lees; and Don Bernardin, on his side, took not the least pains to lessen the bitterness of it. Not content with seeing Don Gregorio at his feet, he gave him only a conditional absolution nor even that, untill he had bound himself by oath and in writing, to pay a fine laid on him of four thousand arobes of the herb of Paraguay. He even thought proper that all the inhabitants should be witnesses to their governor's humiliation; and, before he absolved him, reprimanded him with as little ceremony as he would have done a man of the lowest rank, convicted of the most enormous transgressions.

The governor's example was followed by a great number of other excommunicated persons, who repaired to Yaguaron in a body, thinking they might, thereby, make the greater impression on the bishop; but they had no better success. After taxing them with the hardness of their hearts, and terrifying many of them by the relation of some visions, in which he pretended that not only all the powers he had assumed, had been ratified and enlarged; but the use he had made of them approved; and insisting that all nature was in his power to destroy the enemies of the church, he absolved them on their binding themselves, by oath and in writing, to pay fines, which not one of them was able to pay. Another excommunicated person, even one of those who had a hand in the carrying off of father de Cardenas, succeeded better by the following stratagem. He repaired to Yaguaron in the habit of a penitent with a scourge in his hand; and, as soon as he came within sight of the bishop, who then happened to be in the

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church, laid the ſtrokes on his ſhoulders ſo heavily, crying out all the while, “ mercy; mercy,” that the biſhop took him up, embraced him, loaded him with praiſes and favours, and diſmiſſed him without any condition.

On the Maundy Thurſday following, the eccleſiaſtical judges took it into their heads to open an office in the choir to receive I know not what church dues; and told all thoſe who preſented themſelves to pay them, that, if they had communicated with excommunicated perſons, they had themſelves incurred the ſame cenſures, and could not be abſolved from them, till they ſhould bind themſelves by oath and in writing, to ſubmit to the conditions that might be impoſed on them. Moſt of them ſigned rather than be deprived of the ſacraments at ſo holy a ſeaſon. Two, who, without making any ſubmiſſion, had ſtept in the croud, one to the tribunal of confeſſion, and the other to the Lord's table, were, on diſcovery, thruſt out. The news of theſe abominable proceedings greatly exaſperated the camp-maſter general, Don Sebaſtian de Leon, who, having been excommunicated by the biſhop, choſe to continue ſo, rather than ſubmit to be the victim of his avarice, or rather that of thoſe about him, and the tool of his vengeance againſt the governor. He, therefore, repaired to the cathedral; and, after reproaching the judges with their ſelling their maſter, like Judas, threatened, if they did not immediately deſiſt from their ſimoniacal dealings, to drive them with his belt out of the houſe of God, which they thus profaned, not by ſelling beaſts and birds for the ſacrifice, but the ſacrifice itſelf.

This military reprimand ſucceeded ſo well, that all thoſe, who had not as yet complied with the conditions required of them, were admitted to the ſacraments without it; and thoſe who had, but were unable to pay the tax impoſed on them, had it re-

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duced to one-fifth by the licentiate, Don Francis Chaparro; who, afterwards, on the bishop's discovering what he had done, and fining him thirty thousand pounds of the herb of Paraguay, assembled all those from whom he had taken any obligations, tore the obligations to pieces; declaring to the persons who had given them, that they no longer owed any thing.

These disorders were followed by still greater; the bishop taking upon him to levy, by force, the fines imposed by him, so as to fill the whole province with terror and confusion, especially as the Indians given in command were treated as private property, and wrested from their encommenderoes, not to be set at liberty, but to pass over to the service of the bishop, his officers and confidants. In a word, he assumed to himself the exercise of all royal as well as episcopal jurisdiction; the governor, for a long time not intervening further, than to rescue out of his hands some Indians, whom their encommenderoes had forfeited, and a large quantity of the herb of Paraguay.

This vigorous step of the governor proved the cause of another rupture between him and the bishop, who immediately summoned the governor to the payment of his fine of Paraguay, (though he had already paid it to the person commissioned by the bishop to receive it) because it had never reached his hands, having perished on the way, part of it by being put on board a leaky boat, and the rest some other way. Besides, Don Gregorio insisted that he had no more to give. Upon this, notwithstanding, Don Bernardin declared the governor relapsed into his former excommunication; thundered out a new one against him for new excesses against the church; and forbid all manner of persons to communicate with him, render him any service, or obey him under the same penalties, and that of being

ing banished the province. These fresh excesses against the governor were followed by new interdicts against the several religious orders, and fresh outrages against the jesuits in particular; so that in a short time it became dangerous to administer any spiritual assistance to the sick, though the town was afflicted with a contagious disease, or even bury the dead in consecrated ground; the bishop refusing to take off his censures in spite of all the representations made to him by the most respectable persons. In the midst of this distress, three hundred Guaycurus appeared in sight of the capital, to the great terror of the inhabitants, who saw the hands of their governor and his officers tied up by the rash decree of the prelate, to whom, therefore, new representations were made by the chapter in a body; the inhabitants not chusing that the governor, however willing, should leave them for that purpose. But the bishop would pay no regard to the chapter's interposition. At length, however, he consented to take off the interdict, and suspend the governor's excommunication for fifteen days, on his giving fresh security, at the intercession of a *Devota*; and in the mean time the Guaycurus disappeared; but the war broke out again between the bishop and the governor with redoubled violence and fury.

1764. DON Gregorio had just received a letter from the marquis de la Mancera, viceroy of Peru, with orders not to tolerate any longer the oppression under which the inhabitants of his province were groaning; nor the contempt of his own authority; to re-establish every thing on the footing prescribed by the laws and ordinances; and oblige the bishop to confine himself within the bounds of his jurisdiction, which was merely spiritual. The governor, on the perusal of this letter, felt a return of all his former courage, and resolved to exert for the future all his rights; but he did not

ſufficiently know himſelf; at the ſame time that he had to deal with a man, to whom he had but too well made himſelf known.

The governor began by taking a general review of his troops; and then in obedience to the viceroy, ordered all the Portugueze eſtabliſhed at the Aſſumption to ſet out for Santafe; gave notice to the Indians in the neighbourhood of the capital, that he intended to viſit them; and deſired they might hold themſelves in readineſs to execute the orders of his majeſty with which he was entruſted. Don Bernardin, conſidering himſelf as the object of them, immediately ſent to the Aſſumption orders to declare that the governor ſhould be ſtill conſidered as an excommunicated perſon, the fifteen days, during which his excommunication had been ſuſpended, being elapſed; and to forbid all the inhabitants of the country, whether Spaniards or Indians, to join him on pain of incurring the heavieſt cenſures he could lay on them.

Don Gregorio, on his ſide, gave out that he was to execute a very important commiſſion for the ſervice of the king; and applied in his majeſty's name to have his cenſures taken off; but all the anſwer he could obtain, was, that the biſhop alone could grant his requeſt, upon which he immediately ſet out for Yaguaron. On his arrival at Ita, he met the licentiate Don Pedro Navarro, who ſerved him with an order in writing not to proceed any further, on pain of a major excommunication, and a heavy fine, for him and all thoſe who ſhould follow him. Don Gregorio refuſed to liſten to this act, on pretence that it ſhould be ſerved by a notary, upon which the licentiate laid the town under an interdict. Don Gregorio, on his arrival at Yaguaron, went ſtraight to the church with all his retinue; and the ſight of him ſtruck ſo much terror into Don Bernardin, that he thought proper to ab-

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ſolve him. He then embraced him; celebrated high maſs; preached according to cuſtom after the goſpel; loaded Don Gregorio with praiſes; and invited him to dinner, during which not a word was ſaid of their paſt diſſentions. Dinner being over, the governor requeſted the biſhop to ſuſpend the interdict of the capital, at leaſt till after the feaſt of Aſſumption, by which it was called; and the biſhop very graciouſly complied; ſo that this reconciliation had all the air of being a very perfect and ſincere one.

At the ſame time, father Lopez, the provincial of the Dominicans, obtained leave to rebuild the convent of his order at the Aſſumption, which the biſhop had demoliſhed; and on his arrival at the Aſſumption, where, by the biſhop's orders, he was received with great honours, immediately ſet about it. This favour to the Dominicans was attended with marks of the ſtrongeſt diſlike to the jeſuits, whoſe grammar and other ſchools he ſoon after commanded to be ſhut up.

Some days after he iſſued an ordinance depriving all the regular prieſts of the power of preaching and abſolving; but he ſoon reſtored it to them all, except the jeſuits. The rector, upon this, immediately waited on the grand vicar, to beg of him to order all the prieſts of his houſe to be examined; and, if he judged them capable, to give them the ſame powers he had done to others. The grand vicar anſwered that he would write about it to the biſhop; and he did ſo, accordingly. The biſhop anſwered that he did not in the leaſt doubt of the capacity of the jeſuits, but that it imported the ſervice of God not to permit them to adminiſter the ſacraments, or preach. He could not, however, be very eaſy in regard to this inhibition, as he had obſerved no formality in iſſuing it; and could not

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doubt of the complaint, made against him to the royal audience of Charcas, having made great impression on the members of it.

For these and many other reasons, he thought it behoved him to make the governor approve of his designs against the jesuits, or at least engage him not to oppose them. For this purpose, he had several conferences with him, in which he did all that lay in his power to persuade him, that the good intelligence, which reigned between them for some time after his arrival in his diocese, would never have been interrupted, had it not been for a set of men, who regulated all their actions by the maxims of a most dangerous policy; that they had, in particular, improved the carrying off of father Cardenas, to exasperate him; adding, that he now plainly saw they had hurried him to great lengths; and that he was desirous of making reparation for any excess committed against him; that he was still the more disposed to it, by what he had heard of his family from the provincial of the Dominicans, who had told him, among other things, that he had a daughter in Chili, whose fortune was neither answerable to her family nor her merit; that he would be glad to contribute to establish her in a suitable manner; and that he, therefore, forgave him the four thousand crowns he still owed for the absolution from the censures he had incurred; that he would render a favourable sentence in regard to the outrage he had offered his nephew, by exposing properly the excesses committed by that religious against his person. To these he added several other promises, and concluded by assuring him, that he would always have his interest at heart, where it did not clash with the rights of the church, for which he was resolved to sacrifice every thing, even his life, as every good bishop ought to do.

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A few days after, Don Gregorio received a visit from the provincial of the Dominicans, who began by speaking to him in a manner to let him see, what chiefly engaged Don Bernardin to wish to be reconciled with him. This father opened his discourse by a long harangue on the interest of a governor to remain inseparably united with his bishop. He told him, that both religion and prudence required he should forget all that was past; that it was always troublesome, and often dangerous, to have recourse to the superior tribunals; that it generally proved detrimental to a man's character, and reputation; that there occurred several things, which a prudent man should not seem to take notice of; that, even in cases where a bishop should attempt to encroach on the secular jurisdiction, it was more secure and decent to make up matters in an amicable manner, than to proceed to open violence; and that by the letter he has received from the viceroy, this appeared likewise to be his excellency's opinion; in a word, that it would be worth his while to yield something to live upon good terms with a bishop like Don Bernardin de Cardenas.

Don Gregorio has since affirmed, that father Lopez, after speaking to him in this manner, assured him that the prelate was determined to drive the jesuits out of the Assumption, and out of all the missions of the province of Parana, that happened to be within his diocese; and that he made no doubt of seeing his conduct in regard to them approved by the pope and his catholic majesty; that he advised him not to intermeddle in this affair, as Don Bernardin was either the holiest bishop of God's church, or the wickedest man on the face of the earth; and that, which ever he was, he could only be a loser by quarrelling with him; that he, the governor, had answered, that he had taken

a resolution to dissemble every thing that did not affect his honour or conscience; but that he would, at the risk of his fortune, oppose the expulsion of the jesuits, or any other religious order from the province, with the government of which the king his master had entrusted him, without express orders in writing from his majesty.

Father Lopez no sooner received this answer, than, seeing no longer any appearance of being able to reconcile the bishop and the governor, he made what haste he could to finish the affairs that brought him into Paraguay, in order to leave a province, which must, he foresaw, become the scene of the most horrid confusion; and he accordingly set out soon after. The prelate, however, had not, as yet, lost all hopes of being able to stagger the governor's resolution; and, therefore, did all that lay in his power to persuade him, that he was the sincerest of his friends. Don Gregorio saw very well that these offers of the bishop were very far from being disinterested, and received a further proof of it from father Lope Hinostrosa his son, of the order of St. Augustin, lately returned from Yaguaron, where, on his arrival from Chili, he went to pay his respects to the bishop.

Father Lope informed his father, that he had been received by the bishop with the greatest honours, and saluted by the sound of hautboys; that the prelate had loaded him with praises, and marks of the most cordial friendship; that he had named him examiner of the candidates for holy orders, with a promise to receive whoever should bring him a note under his hand; that he had often, and with great openness, entertained him with complaints against the jesuits; that, among other things, he accused them of abusing both the pope and the king; that, in quality of pastor of the

the dioceſe, and the counſellor to his majeſty, he conſidered himſelf as bound in duty to perſecute them without mercy, though he were to loſe his life by it; that he had requeſted him to prevail on his father to abſent himſelf for ſome time, under ſome pretext or another, if he did not think proper to act in concert with him; in fine, that he had promiſed him a thouſand livres to buy books, in caſe he ſucceeded in this negociation.

To this diſcourſe of his ſon, and thoſe of every other perſon, who ſpoke to him in the ſame ſtrain, the governor made no other anſwer, than by vague proteſtations of his devotion to the perſon of Don Bernardin. He then cauſed the jeſuits to be informed of the ſtorm that was gathering againſt them; but without letting them know what aſſiſtance they might expect from him. He even gave them reaſon to think that he waited to take his reſolution, till the circumſtances ſhould oblige him to declare himſelf. In fact, he played his part ſo well, that the biſhop was ſo far deceived as to think he might proceed without meeting any oppoſition from him. However he reſolved to advance inch by inch; convinced that, by always gaining a little ground, he ſhould, at laſt, carry his point, provided he made no halt. The following was the firſt ſtep he took.

The biſhop propoſed the jeſuits to yield him a farm of theirs, for what it had coſt them; and then, without waiting for their anſwer, ſent them word, that they were rich enough to make him a preſent of it; adding, that, as he thought there was no relying upon their generoſity, he gave them notice, that his eſtate belonged to the Indians of Yaguaron, and ordered them to evacuate it in eight days; if they did not chuſe, that he ſhould cauſe it to be ſeized; and abandon to thoſe charged with the execution of his orders, all the moveables they could

could find on it, as a reward for their trouble. This letter was presented to the rector of the college by one of the bishop's officers, who, without giving him time to read it, told him it contained a definitive sentence; that as they could make no appeal from it but to the Pope, of whom the bishop was delegate, it would be to no purpose to make any; and that, besides, Don Bernardin would not give them time to do it.

Don Bernardin, at the same time, caused notice to be given to all those who were preparing to receive holy orders, to repair to Yaguaron; and, as they presented themselves before him, made them take an oath to be faithful to him, even to the effusion of their blood, if it should be found requisite. Several persons were invited to this ordination, which was celebrated with great pomp and solemnity. The prelate, besides, had taken care, by the choice of those he admitted to holy orders, to interest in his favour the principal families of the capital, whom he imagined he might thereby attach to himself in such a manner, as to make them side with him, the jesuits; especially as he had already weakened their interest with all ranks, by shutting up their schools, and forbidding them the exercise of their ordinary functions.

He, likewise, built greatly on the air and strain of an inspired man, which had succeeded so well with him in the beginning, and still made some impression on the people. One day, as he was preaching at Yaguaron, and enveighing against the jesuits, with all his usual vehemence; happening to spy amongst the audience father Peter Romero; he turned towards the tabernacle; and, addressing himself to the missionary who stood at the end of the church, "You must excuse me, father, said he, for speaking in this manner; it is the Lord, who resides here, and whom I am just going to re-

ceive, that has put these things into my mouth: I had not even the least thought of them when I got into the pulpit; but could not resist the Holy Ghost, which seized me." He spoke in pretty much the same terms, on the day of the ordination, to two other jesuits sent by father Sobrino to represent to him, that neither himself nor any of his religious, could reproach themselves with having ever done any thing to deserve his indignation. After speaking to them in the harshest terms; laying his hand upon his breast, and raising his eyes towards heaven, he added, that motives superior to every human consideration were the sole rule of his behaviour to them. He dismissed them with these words, and then coolly resumed the conversation, which their visit had interrupted.

Some moments after he suddenly changed the discourse; and, as if overwhelmed with the deepest sorrow, he said, sighing, that, in quality of bishop, it was his business to defend the rights of the church, and prosecute, without mercy, whoever dared to make the least attempt on her rights and patrimony; that, having the honour to be counsellor to his majesty, he was bound in duty to clear the province of those, who made themselves masters of the king's domain, to send the riches arising from it, into foreign countries, and even into the states of powers at war with his majesty; that, as pastor of the diocese, it was his indispensable duty to his flock to guard them from the snares, which the infernal spirit laid for them, by means of self-interested ministers, who, under a veil of piety, and of zeal for the salvation of souls, stript them of their temporal substance.

After this preamble, which kept the minds of all the company in suspence, he said, that, as a man subject like all other men to be deceived, he had for a long time suffered himself to be seduced by

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he false relations dispersed by them; but that, as he was now better informed, and even enlightened from above, he should be absolutely inexcusable before God and man, if he did not lay open in what manner they had made themselves masters of so many Indians, to the prejudice of the royal patrimony, and the patronage of the church: that these false apostles taught their Neophytes abominable doctrines; that, having charitably advertised them of it, they had disregarded his remonstrances; that they spread among the people pernicious opinions; that they cried down the censures of the church, and reduced to nothing the authority of the holy see; that they persecuted the bishops, and rendered their lives unhappy; that he had informed his majesty of their daily introducing new pastors into their reductions, without the approbation of their ecclesiastical superiors, and without applying for the *visa* to the bishops; that they dissuaded the Indians from paying any tribute to the king, or tithes to the bishops; that they had very rich mines of gold, whose produce they sent wherever they pleased; that they aimed at nothing less than usurping all power both spiritual and temporal; that he had shut up their schools, because they taught their scholars nothing, with a view of engrossing to themselves all the parishes, when there should be no secular priests left to officiate in them; and that, for the same reason, they refused to approve the candidates for holy orders when appointed to examine them; that he himself had entrusted them for a time with some parishes, but that he had done it merely on their repeated application; and for want of knowing them better; that he had forbid them to administer the sacraments, as he had heard they were not over scrupulous in regard to the secret of confession, and made a handle of it to know the most private transactions of families,

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in order to improve them to their own advantage; that father de Montoya had surreptitiously obtained a royal cedule, by virtue of which his brethren had robbed the Spaniards of whole nations, which belonged to them by right of conquest; that they brought nothing with them into Paraguay, but the clothes on their backs; yet had acquired the sovereignty of one of its largest districts; that he was firmly resolved to drive them out of his diocese, as the Venetians had done, and the inhabitants of St. Paul of Piratiningue; that the bishop of Tucuman and several others had received the same power, but were afraid to exert it; but that, for his part, he wanted neither power nor courage to give them the example; "and I reckon, said he, making an end of his harangue, that you will soon acknowledge yourselves obliged to me for being served by Indians, and for seeing your children provided with good parishes; the king put in possession of his rights; and the church re-established in the enjoyment of her rights and patrimony." This fine harangue contained almost as many absurdities and falshoods as words. The reductions were not as yet erected into parishes, in which case alone there could be any necessity for applying to the bishops for their *visa* The royal tribute was not regulated till the year 1649. The custom of paying tithes to the ecclesiastical superiors was not as yet any where established. It was notorious, that the jesuits did all that lay in their power to be excused from the charge of parishes. The immunity from all personal service granted to their Indians was not surreptitiously obtained, and has since been several times confirmed. Besides, it was not father Montoya who solicited it. The Venetians had not expelled the jesuits; these fathers had retired of their own accord. And surely, it ill became

came a biſhop to imitate the example of the Portugueze of St. Paul of Piratiningue.

As to the laſt article of Don Bernardin's accuſation, though he often repeated it, it made little impreſſion on the publick, as no body could gueſs what he meant by it. Moreover, no one ever imagined that the jeſuits revealed the ſecret of confeſſion. And the pretended gold mines had not as yet obtained any credit. But the prelate knew, that the hopes of having in command all the Indians of the Parana, was enough to induce ſeveral perſons to favour his enterprize; and he added all the reſt merely to perſuade his audience that thoſe who oppoſed his deſigns were no better than traitors to both church and ſtate. Theſe things he continually repeated both in publick from the pulpit, and in private diſcourſe with ſuch, as he thought it moſt imported him to make ſure of. He even ſhewed them the informations of his viſitors, and the writings of ſome jeſuits, whoſe hands had been counterfeited; accompanying theſe marks of confidence with careſſes and offers of ſervice; ſpiriting up the fearful by telling them that he acted merely by the king's orders; and he, at laſt, wrought upon ſo many perſons, that people were every where in the utmoſt impatience to ſee the execution of a project, from which they flattered themſelves with the thoughts of deriving ſuch conſiderable advantages. But, juſt as he began to look upon himſelf as ſure of ſucceſs, he received news ſufficient to convince him, that he would meet with difficulties, which he had never before dreamed of.

He had deferred, it ſeems, ſeizing on the farm of St. Iſidore, thinking, perhaps, that the jeſuits intimidated by his menaces, would yield it up to him of themſelves, in hopes of recovering his good graces, or hindering him to proceed any further

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lengths against them. He was, therefore, greatly surprized on hearing, that the governor, at father Sobrino's request, had sent there an alcalde of the holy Hermandad, with ten armed men, to defend it. Upon this, he sent there an ecclesiastick with two clerks and an Indian. The business of the ecclesiastick and the two clerks was to serve an excommunication, in writing, upon the alcalde and his men, if they did not immediately retire; and that of the Indian, to claim the farm; which he accordingly did. The alcalde told the Indian, that, if his cacique or his corregidor had any claims to the farm, they should prosecute them in a legal way; and that, if he or any one else dared to commit the least disorder, they should immediately pay for it. Afterwards, turning to the ecclesiastick, who was preparing to read his sentence of excommunication, he told him, that it was to the governor, by whose orders he acted, he should carry the bishop's ordinance; and obliged him to withdraw.

This resistance put the bishop quite beside himself; but father Neito, an apostate monk, who had so far insinuated himself into the bishop's good graces, as to obtain a good benefice, and several other favours, and even the honour of being his confessor and principal counsellor, soon brought him to himself again. He told him, that, in time of war, writings signified nothing; that the governor would be in no such haste to put his threats in execution; that, if he dared to resist his bishop in person, two good cuffs, which he took upon himself to give him as to an enemy of the church, would bring him to reason again; that the people were very well disposed; the jesuits hated; his most illustrious lordship adored; and that it was his opinion, that his lordship should not lose a single moment to avail himself of such a favourable conjuncture; but, invoking St. Jago, set out directly

to drive the jesuits out of their college; that it would be improper to stay at the farm, which these fathers could not carry away with them; that they were schismaticks, and even hereticks, of whom he could not make too great haste to purge the province; but that the shortest and surest course would be to strike at the body of the tree, without losing time to lop off the branches.

THIS discourse, so suitable to an apostate, but so unworthy of the confessor of a bishop, revived the drooping spirits of the prelate, who appointed St. Francis's day for the execution of his project, and caused it to be published, (though probably in general terms, yet accompanied) by the sound of bells at Yaguaron, as if the holy land was to be rescued out of the hands of the Mussulmen. He then sent to the Assumption to prepare, privately, some floats to put the jesuits on, with a provision of biscuit and salt meat; ordered the convents of St. Dominick, St. Francis, and the Merci, to send friars to govern the reductions of the Parana, till he could find secular priests enough to place there as curates. He then drew up a complaint, in the name of the people, against the jesuits, importing, that they opposed the giving of their Indians in command to the Spaniards, who, he said, had reduced them by force of arms; which was a falsehood; concluding with a request that these religious should be expelled the province.

THOUGH the jesuits little imagined, that the danger was so instant, they thought it high time to take some measures in order to prevent a surprize; and had recourse, for this purpose, to the royal audience of Charcas. This was going a great way to seek a remedy for an evil so near at hand. But could it be imagined, that a bishop should form such a project, and be able to carry it into execution, in spite of the governor? In the mean time,

Don Bernardin having received notice, that some Indians of the reductions on the Parana had just past through Yaguaron, in their way to the Itatines, he immediately sent after them; and his messengers took from them all the letters they had to deliver father Sobrino in their passage through the Assumption, and some muskets which some officers had given them to defend themselves, in case they should meet with an enemy; as likewise some instruments of musick. The Neophytes of the reductions seldom go any where without them, either to amuse themselves on the road, or to entertain the missionaries they are conducting to their towns: or, in fine, to accompany their songs and canticles.

Father Sobrino, who soon heard of this violence, but did not know it had been committed by the orders of the bishop, wrote to him to beg he might cause to be restored to these Indians, the things they had been plundered of. But all the answer the prelate made his letter was to send him copies of the intercepted letters; and reproach him bitterly with the jesuits permitting their Indians to carry fire arms. Don Bernardin had so much the more reason for not complying with father Sobrino's request, as he had not himself fire arms enough for all those whom he intended to employ in his expedition; and thought the instruments of musick might be very useful to animate his troops, in case they should be obliged to come to blows. At length, when all his military preparations were finished, the Indians of the neighbourhood ready to march, and the petitions of the Assumptionists presented and received in due form, the bishop drew up the plan of an ordinance, or rather the preamble of one, as he did not think proper to discover the whole of his design, till it was executed; and sent this his production

duction to the capital, to be publiſhed there, when he ſhould have put the laſt hand to it. Here it is, ſuch as it then was, and has ever ſince remained:

"Don Bernardin de Cardenas, by the grace of God and the holy apoſtolick ſee, biſhop of Paraguay, counſellor to the king in all his councils, &c. Having examined the complaints and petitions of the inhabitants of the noble city of the Aſſumption, of the chapter of our cathedral church, and of the clergy, and religious orders, in regard to the oppreſſion they have ſuffered, and ſtill ſuffer, from the fathers of the company of Jeſus, who govern the reductions of the Parana, the Uruguay, and the Itatines; facts which are known to every one, and to ourſelves in particular moſt evident; knowing, likewiſe, that theſe fathers have uſurped the king's rights; that they have made themſelves maſters of the vaſſals and territories of his majeſty, as if they were themſelves the ſovereigns of them, without acknowledging any dependance upon his ſaid majeſty, or the ordinary; that they eſtabliſh curates, without preſentation or canonical inſtitution." The reſt blank.

The prelate ſet out from Yaguaron the 3d of October, and reckoned to arrive the ſame day at the Aſſumption; but a heavy rain overtook him halfway, and obliged him to ſpend the night there. The very ſame day, the jeſuits aſſiſted at firſt veſpers in the church of the Franciſcans; and numbers of perſons, who had received intelligence of the ſtorm that hung over them, could not help admiring their tranquility. As ſoon as divine ſervice was finiſhed, the lieutenant-general, Don Francis Florez, meeting father Nieto, who was come to town betimes, to prepare for the next day's buſineſs, in which he was to be a principal actor, invited him to ſupper. Father Nieto readily complied; and thinking it his duty to make ſome re-

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turn for the civilities he had received, acquainted Don Francis with what was to be tranſacted the next day; adding, that the firſt thing the biſhop intended to do on his arrival, was to go to the governor's, to know if he would join him; and, if he did not chuſe it, to prevail on him to abſent himſelf. He then exhorted Florez to ſecond ſo glorious an undertaking, which could not poſſibly miſcarry, as the biſhop had four hundred Indians with him, all very well armed; omitting nothing to perſuade him, that, independent of the publick, his own private intereſt ſhould oblige him to comply.

Florez had command enough over himſelf not to let father Nieto ſee what he thought of this matter. But, as ſoon as he was gone, took a turn into the town, and ordered his ſervants to obſerve, if there appeared any extraordinary commotion among the people. He then went to the governor, and communicated to him the intelligence he had received. Don Gregorio, thunderſtruck at the news, inſtantly foreſaw what he ſhould be expoſed to, in caſe the biſhop ſucceeded, or any diſorder ſhould happen in conſequence of his attempt. He, therefore, immediately repaired to the college, to let the jeſuits know what was doing; and was ſurprized to find them ſo eaſy about what might happen. He then repreſented to them, that it was not only lawful for them, but even their duty, to oppoſe the violence with which they were threatened; and then withdrew, without given them time to anſwer him, in order to ſend arms to their houſe, and engage ſeveral of the principal inhabitants, upon whom he knew he could depend, to ſpend the reſt of the night there.

The day following, the governor, accompanied by a great number of perſons of every rank and condition, ſallied out early to meet the biſhop, whom

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he found surrounded by a great number of people ; and complimented him on his happy return. Don Bernardin, having cast his eyes over the great multitude which had followed the governor, asked him, why he did not see the jesuits among them. The governor then whispered him, that he ought not to be surprized at it, as these fathers had been informed, the night before, that he had no other business to the Assumption, but to drive them out of their college. "I even know, added he, that they are in a condition not to fear any thing; and this is not a proper place, my lord, to tell you what I think of your design ; I shall have the honour of speaking to you more about it, when we meet in private together."

At this the prelate appeared thunderstruck for some moments. And then, turning towards father Nieto, who was likewise come out to meet him, "father, said he, some devil has discovered every thing, and we are betrayed." Upon this, some of his confidants advised him to march directly to the college, under pretence of making up matters with the jesuits ; and to tell them, that, in order to leave them no cause of jealousy, he intended to take up his residence amongst them. But not relishing this advice ; he went to alight at the convent of his own order. The governor on his side, thinking the best thing he could do to put the bishop off his guard, was not to appear very averse to his designs, told him, that the shortest, easiest, and surest course he could take with the jesuits, was to begin by stripping them of their reductions ; that it was his opinion he should repair there himself in person ; that he should have a good escort, in order to enforce obedience to his orders ; that he might then return to the Assumption, where nothing could hinder him from completing his business ;

finess; whereas, if he attempted to set out by driving these religious out of their college, they would infallibly call their Neophytes to their assistance, as they were in a condition to hold out till their arrival. Don Bernardin relished this advice so well, that he communicated it to his council, who likewise unanimously approved it.

THOUGH he now no longer doubted of the governor's being in his interest, he forbid his confidants to speak of any thing that had passed between them; and no longer thought of any thing, but how he might lull the jesuits into a fatal security. For this purpose, he told one of those who visited him, that he would be glad to see father Sobrino; and father Sobrino having immediately waited upon him, he received him in the most affable manner; and said so many obliging things to him, that all present concluded he was quite reconciled with him and his brethren. The rector himself was the first to be deceived by these appearances, or at least feigned to be so; and, on his return to the college, sent all manner of refreshments to the prelate, who in distributing them among his houshold, told them that they might expect to see themselves soon at the fountain head, where they would have every thing by only wishing for it. He then ordered all the necessary preparations to be made for his expedition; and composed, himself, a memorial to justify it.

IN this piece he repeated every thing he had already so often said of his motives for undertaking it; of the orders he had received from his majesty for that purpose; of the petitions presented to him by the secular and regular clergy, the inhabitants of the Assumption, and a great number of Indians. The rest was mere declamation, stuffed with ill digested invectives, all resembling those, of which his

sermons

ſermons and private diſcourſe, and even all his letters, were generally compoſed. We ſhall, hereafter, give ſome of theſe letters, in which he has painted himſelf ſo much to the life, that no one, who has read them, can be ſurprized at the many miſtakes and diſorders committed by him.

But it is fit I ſhould obſerve, before I proceed any further, that all theſe pretended orders of the king and the ſovereign Pontiff, upon which he laid ſo much ſtreſs, and which we ſhall hereafter ſee him atteſt upon all that is moſt ſacred, if they were not the productions of a warm imagination, which realized every thing that came into his head, they were, at leaſt, no better than the conſequences, which to him appeared evident, of certain general expreſſions uſually employed in the diſpatches addreſſed to the biſhop by the courts of Madrid and Rome. It is, beſides, improbable to the laſt degree, that the three regular communities of the Aſſumption ſhould have ſubſcribed in a body the petitions mentioned by the biſhop. Some private members, indeed, ſurprized or intimidated by him, might have done ſo, without well knowing the tendency of what they ſigned; and it has been proved, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, that Don Bernardin, or at leaſt the miniſters of his paſſions, have often uſed ſubſcriptions of that kind; and even employed the greateſt violence to obtain even them.

While the biſhop was entirely taken up with the thoughts of conquering the reductions of the Parana, captain Pedro Diaz del Vall arrived from la Plata; and ſerved him with a new decree of the royal audience of Charcas, enjoining him to take off the interdict and all the excommunications he had been ſo laviſh of, without requiring any thing for ſo doing. He likewiſe delivered him a private letter from the ſame tribunal, praying and enjoining

ing him to return to the Aſſumption, to govern his church with the great virtues and talents which he was known to poſſeſs; to ſupport, in his diſcourſe, in his writings, in all his proceedings, the dignity of his character, which they heard, with great concern, he had forgot on ſeveral occaſions; and to live on better terms with the governor than he had hitherto done. This letter was accompanied with one from the ſame tribunal to the governor, recommending to him not to let the biſhop any longer forget, that he repreſented his majeſty in his province, and was inveſted with his authority.

Don Gregorio, to avoid the danger of a new rupture with Don Bernardin, made no mention of this letter; and even oppoſed the publication of the decree, till he was forced to it by the repreſentations of thoſe, who had not as yet obtained the abſolution of their cenſures, or, to obtain it, had been obliged to give ſecurity for the payment of the fines impoſed upon them. The biſhop, as the governor apprehended, attributed to him the mortification he ſuffered on this occaſion. He declared, however, that he would obey the decree, as far as it was conſiſtent with the rights of the catholic church and her biſhops; yet gave private orders to his viſitor to burn all the herb of Paraguay belonging to him, that they could lay their hands on. This letter was afterwards produced before the royal audience of Charcas.

He then addreſſed himſelf to the camp-maſter general; offered to abſolve him from the cenſures he ſaid he had incurred, and forgive the fine annexed to them, if he would but deliver him an ancient ſchedule of Charles V. which it was reported he had taken out of the archives of the Aſſumption, and by virtue of which that capital, in caſe of the governor's death, or his abſenting himſelf,

himself, might name one to succeed him. He told him, that this schedule was never more necessary than at present, when it so much imported the glory of God, the service of his majesty, and the interest of the inhabitants, to put an end to the tyranny of the jesuits; that, to accomplish so good a work, he wanted nothing but the assistance of a man like himself; that, notwithstanding, he required nothing more of him than to put himself at the head of the people to drive them out; in doing which, besides, he said, he was more concerned than another person.

Don Sebastian answered by beseeching Don Bernardin to reflect upon the proposal he had made; and forgot nothing to convince him of the injustice of his designs; his want of power to carry them into execution; and the prejudice he did himself by his inveteracy to persecute religious, who had never given him any reason for it. To all this the bishop, at first, made no other reply, than by declaring to Don Sebastian, that as yet he was not absolved from the censures he had incurred; and by threatening him with the greater excommunication, if he did not deliver up to him the schedule in question. Then, softening a little, he undertook to prove, that his designs were just and lawful before God; that to bring them to bear he did not stand in need either of his advice or his assistance; that, though the whole world were to oppose him, he would find means to accomplish whatever it was his duty to undertake; that, by lopping off rotten members from his church, he acted like an able surgeon, who, to save a hand, makes no scruple to cut off a mortified finger; that the Pope, when he should have heard what he had done would erect a statue to him, and would even deem him worthy of being canonized, though he had done no other good work during the course of his whole

whole life. Don Sebaſtian, and captain Auguſtin de Iſuralde, have atteſted, that the prelate repeated the ſame things to them in the cloiſter of the Franciſcan convent, in preſence of ſeveral eccleſiaſticks and religious.

So many declarations, at laſt, convinced the governor, that, in a ſhort time, he would no longer be maſter in the province; that it would be even unſafe for him to remain in it, if he loſt any more time to employ all his authority againſt a man, who pretended that people were to acknowledge no other. He, therefore, ſent a private expreſs to the reductions for ſix hundred Indians; and, at the end of ſix days, ſent a ſecond expreſs, to haſten their march. He then waited on the biſhop; told him that every thing was ready for the expedition they had agreed upon; but that he could not give him more than one hundred ſoldiers. The prelate anſwered that he could make ſhift with one hundred and thirty; and that he would have them. Don Gregorio promiſed them, but required fifteen days to furniſh them; reckoning, that, by that time, the Indians he ſent for would be arrived; and he might then act in quality of governor as he was bound to do.

Don Bernardin, on his ſide, did nothing but exaſperate the nobility and the people againſt the jeſuits, whom he likewiſe excommunicated with an inhibition, under the ſame penalty, to all manner of perſons to have any communication with them. Then, after publickly renewing, and in a very indecent proceſſion, his promiſe to give all the Indians of the reductions in command among thoſe with whom he ſhould have moſt reaſon to be pleaſed, he ſet out for Yaguaron, in order to be more at hand to haſten the preparations for his expedition, which he dignified with the name of a holy war; and

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on his arrival there, he communicated to his council the reflections he had made on the proposals of the governor, whose sincerity he now began to suspect.

He observed to them, that the jesuits, while he was employed on the Parana in reducing their reductions, might fortify themselves in their college, and put themselves in a condition to hold out, till they could receive such orders from the royal audience of Charcas, and the viceroy of Peru, as would oblige him to desist? for which reason he concluded for abiding by his first plan, which was to begin by driving them out of their college; as he would then, he flattered himself, find it no hard matter to seize on their reductions; that, this once effected, the king, though he should not approve it, would consent to leave things as they were, rather than run the risk of losing a whole province by endeavouring to re-establish the jesuits, and procure them the restitution of what they had lost. He added, that he thought it above all things requisite to make sure of the governor's person, whom he now mistrusted more than ever; and his opinion was generally approved.

Don Gregorio soon began to suspect this alteration in the bishop's sentiments, so that the delay of the Indians he had sent for to the reductions, gave him so much the more uneasiness, as the soldiers he had promised the bishop were already at Yaguaron, where the prelate loaded them with caresses, and fed them with the most magnificent promises, though he could not but know, that it would be no easy matter for him to fulfill them; for he had already divided the spoils of the jesuits; and had declared in his own council, that he reserved nothing to himself but the glory of having laboured to defend the liberty of the church; serve his majesty as became a good subject; and restore to the

good people of his diocese what the jesuits had robbed them of. He even declared, that it had never been his intention to confer on regulars the parishes of the reductions; and if he had flattered them with that favour, it was merely to detach them, and by their means the people, from jesuits.

At length, the governor, having received notice that the Indians he expected were arrived within four leagues of the Assumption, set out to join them with an escort of thirty soldiers; and, after marching all night at their head, arrived with them by day-break at Yaguaron. The bishop, awakened by the bustle caused among his domestics by so sudden an apparition, immediately started out of bed; but he had scarce time to dress himself, when the governor entered his apartment and told him he was come to conduct him to the Assumption, because the Indians of Yaguaron, grown insolent in consequence of the protection he afforded them, had refused to yield their governor the obedience they owed him. Don Bernardin, without making any answer, slipt away by a private door, which opened into the great altar of the church. The governor followed him, seized him by the arm, and begged him to hear what he had to say. But the prelate broke loose from him; and, crying out with all his might, declared the governor excommunicated.

At this, a friar, and a mulatto woman who served in the kitchen, ran up to his assistance, and fell upon the governor, who threw himself on his knees on the steps of the great altar, while the bishop, taking the holy ciborium out of the tabernacle, shewed it to the people, with whom the church filled in a minute, and who, at the sight of it, all fell prostrate to the ground. The bishop then, being a little come to himself, asked the governor

what

what he wanted with him, "to serve you, my lord," answered Don Gregorio, with a sentence of banishment from this province, and a seizure of your temporalities, for having usurped the jurisdiction which I hold from our sovereign lord the king. It is by order of the viceroy, which hereby I signify to your most illustrious lordship." "I promise to obey, answered the bishop, and take this congregation to witness my promise."

The governor, upon this immediately left the church; and the bishop prepared to celebrate mass; but first, with his episcopal ornaments on, he drew up a kind of deposition, to which he added the bitterest invectives against the governor. Then, he declared him excommunicated, as well as the camp-master general, and all the violators of his episcopal dignity. When mass was over, he gave orders for a procession, which he made in the following order. The Indian women appeared first, carrying, each, a green branch in her hand; next marched the musicians, singing the *Pange Lingua*; the prelate followed, carrying the blessed sacrament; the rest of the people closed the procession. The procession issued from the church to the ringing of bells; and advanced as far as the market place, where the Indians belonging to the reductions were drawn up under arms. The bishop, happening to cast his eyes upon some of them who had not immediately kneeled down, called out to them that they were barbarians, traitors, schismaticks, and hereticks. He then returned to the church; placed the blessed sacrament upon the altar; and, turning towards the people, spoke for about a quarter of an hour against the governor, who, from the door of the church, answered him pretty much in the same strain, though in a low voice.

Both he and the prelate were in too violent a ſituation not to endeavour to get out of it; and, accordingly, they ſaw each other that very evening. But, by what has ſince happened, there is reaſon to believe, that the biſhop took the firſt ſtep towards a reconciliation, being convinced, that he would always be a gainer by treating alone with the governor.

One thing, at leaſt, is certain; and that is, that he prevailed on the governor to diſmiſs the Parana Indians, and obtained ſix days to prepare for his departure, on condition that he would abſolve the governor from his excommunication. After this interview, the governor went with no more than ſix men, to ſpend the night in a neighbouring country houſe. The biſhop, on his ſide, not content with ſeeing the Indians take the road to their reductions, cauſed them to be followed, leſt the governor ſhould recall them; and, finding he did not, ſet out the next morning, before day light, for the capital.

He was informed on the road, that the whole city was in an uproar, in conſequence of a report ſpread there, that the governor had embarked him on the river, and was coming at the head of the reduction Indians, to bring to reaſon all thoſe who had declared againſt him in favour of their biſhop. This intelligence inſpired him with hopes, that he would be well received; and, in fact, the bells had no ſooner proclaimed his arrival, than the whole city reſounded with acclamations of joy. He made his entry preceded by ſeveral eccleſiaſticks, with arms under their cloaks, ſurrounded by ſeveral friars, and carrying, on his breaſt, a little glaſs box, in which there was a conſecrated hoſt. He had ordered thoſe in the front to turn towards the college; but ſomebody having told him, that he would there meet with four hundred men ready to

receive him, which, however, was not true, he thought proper to alight at the convent of St. Francis.

Here he was immediately visited by all those who were attached to him; and he applied to them for arms. He likewise caused to be brought to him the arms belonging to all those who depended on him. He then ordered murdering holes to be made in several places; and the weak places to be fortified with gabions. This done, he sent to the cathedral for an image of the virgin; and to the church of St. Blaize, for that saint's; and caused both to be placed on the great altar, under canopies. Next, he sent for all his domesticks, not forgetting the mulatto cook who had served him so well at Yaguaron. Thus cantoned in the convent, as in a fortified place, he gave all those who shut themselves up with him, an account of every thing that had happened to him since his departure from the Assumption. He told them, that he had found means to engage the governor to dismiss the Parana Indians; "but it is a great pity, added he, that such a man should hold such a post. Let me but have the royal schedule, which has been stolen out of the town house, and I will use him as he deserves, as well as Sebastian de Leon." This schedule, however, contained no more than a power, which the emperor had given during the first years after the building of the Assumption, to name, provisionally, a commandant on the death of the governor; and this privilege subsisted no longer.

The camp-master general, hearing of this discourse, immediately waited on the governor to represent to him all the evils and inconveniencies, to which he would expose himself, by not immediately ordering back the Parana Indians. But the prelate, who had his spies every where, soon hearing what

this officer was about, caused the alarm bell of the convent to ring. Upon this, the inhabitants immediately flocked to the convent, where the bishop, having sent for an alcalde and some regidors, took out of his pocket, and read with a loud voice, a paper, which, he said, was a letter he had just received, importing, that the reduction Indians had plundered Yaguaron, and all the country houses in the neighbourhood; that they were in march to serve the capital in the same manner, and that they had been already seen at Ita: "And because, added he, I would defend your liberty, your property, and your privileges, they want to drive me out of the province, as a sower of sedition. But, in quality of a counsellor to his majesty, I exhort all those in employment, to take upon them the defence of this oppressed city, and name a governor, who may preserve the province from the danger with which it is threatened. In so urgent a case, necessity may very well supply the want of a royal schedule."

The alcalde, astonished at this discourse, ran directly to the governor, to conjure him not to let the Indians enter the city; and, on Don Gregorio's answering him, that he knew what was to be done, fell into a violent passion; and even forgot himself so far as to speak very disrespectfully to the governor, who, thereupon, sent him to prison. As soon as the people heard of it, they grew perfectly outrageous; and would, perhaps, have been guilty of some violence, had they not been restrained by their apprehensions of the Indians, whose number was made to amount to twelve hundred. They were, however, soon quieted by the receipt of certain advice, that these Indians had never appeared either at Yaguaron or at Ita; and that their number never amounted to above six hundred.

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Soon after, indeed, they were given to underſtand what was very true, that theſe Indians were, in fact marching towards the city by the governor's orders; but that they obſerved the ſtricteſt diſcipline, and no where occaſioned the leaſt diſorder.

Don Bernardin, however, had ſent to the royal audience a relation of their pretended hoſtilities, which, beſides being atteſted by himſelf upon oath, was ſigned by two friars, as eye-witneſſes to the plundering of Yaguaron, where it was afterwards proved neither of them had been. The prelate affirmed in another memorial, that, during his reſidence in that town, and while he was preparing to viſit the reductions, the jeſuits had ſent the governor of Paraguay thirty thouſand gold crowns, and a thouſand well armed men, to engage him to baniſh him, for fear he ſhould diſcover their gold mines; and this memorial was ſigned by ſeveral eccleſiaſticks, ſome of whom were not ſo much as permitted to read it. One clergyman, who, alone, had the courage not to comply, was loaded with chains, and brought to the convent of St. Francis, where, after a great deal of ill uſage, he was ſuſpended in the air by a rope; till, overcome by the painfulneſs of his ſituation, he promiſed to do every thing they thought proper. Accordingly, on being untied, he ſigned the memorial; but, as ſoon as he recovered his liberty, he proteſted againſt the violence that had been offered him.

In the mean time, the creatures of the biſhop left no ſtone unturned to engage the inhabitants to take up arms. The prelate, on his ſide, beſtirred himſelf exceedingly, to procure the ſchedule of Charles V. and the royal ſtandard; and, finding, at laſt, that he could not get either one or the other, vented his anger and indignation on the camp-maſter general, his brothers, and his friends, whom he de-

clared excommunicated, ſchiſmaticks, and enemies to their country. At laſt, the tumult encreaſed to ſuch a degree, that ſeveral of the principal inhabitants, finding it impoſſible to remain any longer in the city with decency or ſafety, retired to the country. Upon this, the governor, who flattered himſelf, that Don Bernardin, when he ſhould loſe all hopes of holding out in his aſylum, would comply with his promiſe to leave the province, ſent to ſummon him to ſet out without any farther delay; and to let him know, at the ſame time, that there was a bark well ſtored with proviſions of every kind, ready to receive him and all his family.

THE king's notary, Ruy Gomez de Goyoſo, who was charged with the ſerving of this ſummons, on his preſenting himſelf at the gates of the convent, and deſiring to ſpeak with the prelate, was accoſted by a friar armed with a javelin, with which he three times endeavoured to run him through the body. Don Bernardin made up to the noiſe; aſked Gomez his buſineſs; and when he had given an account of it, told him that no one had a right to command him to leave his dioceſe; and that, at any rate, the governor ſhould have come himſelf on the errand. He then broke out into invectives againſt him, and declared the king's notary excommunicated, threatening him, at the ſame time, in caſe he did not conſider himſelf as ſuch, to fine him five hundred crowns, and deliver him over to the holy office as an obſtinate and irreclaimable ſinner. Don Gregorio, having received notice of this exceſs; and being told, beſides, that, Don Bernardin having declared it would be but a venial ſin to diſpatch him, two eccleſiaſticks had taken upon them to do the buſineſs, and two more to ſet fire to the college, he immediately ordered one hundred of the Parana Indians into the city; poſted fifty at the gates of the college; and the reſt about his own houſe.

Don Gregorio then publiſhed an edict, declaring Don Bernardin de Cardenas an intruder into the biſhoprick of Paraguay, and without any manner of juriſdiction.' The governor had by him three pieces left him by the fathers Truxillo and Verdugo, and his brother, father de Hiniſtroſa, to prove that the biſhop was actually, and ever ſince his conſecration, had been ſuſpended, and the governor knew very well that the fathers of St. Dominick, and of the Merci, and ſeveral franciſcans were of the ſame opinion with his brother. The piece by father de Hiniſtroſa, the biſhop has always attributed to the jeſuits; and it is upon this foundation, that in all his letters, and in all the memorials publiſhed in his name, and preſented by his agent to the royal council of the Indies, he accuſed the jeſuits of having driven him out of his dioceſe, as they had already done, he ſaid, two of his predeceſſors; a calumny, which has been repeated in ſeveral libels, eſpecially in the *Morale Pratique des Jeſuites* but always without the leaſt foundation. The two other prelates are Don Thomas de Torrez, of the order of St. Dominick, who was tranſlated from the biſhoprick of the Aſſumption to that of Tucuman; and Don Chriſtopher de Arreſti, of the order of St. Benedict, tranſlated to that of Buenos Ayres. The firſt never had any quarrel with the jeſuits, and the ſecond lived to his death in the greateſt harmony with them. Beſides, what could the jeſuits have got by theſe tranſlations, ſince moſt of their houſes, as well as the beſt of them, were in the dioceſes of Buenos Ayres and Tucuman?

Unhappily for Don Bernardin, the opinions of the three religious I have juſt mentioned, have been ſince confirmed by the ſentence of the cardinals of the congregation of Trent. But, to proceed according to the order preſcribed by the canons

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in an affair of this importance, it was requiſite there ſhould be an eccleſiaſtical ſuperior. None of the ancient canons now remained in the city but Don Chriſtopher Sanchez, who, at the arrival of Don Bernardin de Cardenas, governed the dioceſe in quality of grand vicar and proviſor. The governor, therefore, required him to reſume the exerciſe of his charge, which the flaws in the prelate's conſecration and induction authorized him to continue; and promiſed to ſupport him with all the authority he himſelf was inveſted with in quality of governor. Don Sanchez conſented, provided the governor would give him a ſafeguard for his perſon. To this Don Gregorio made anſwer, that he might find one in the jeſuits college, which was well guarded; and, accordingly, directly conducted him to it.

He then ordered the general alarm to be beat; and iſſued an order, on pain of death, for all the inhabitants to repair with their arms to the great ſquare, where the royal ſtandard had been already planted, and hold themſelves in readineſs to do every thing they ſhould be commanded in the name of his majeſty. No one dared to be abſent, ſo that the officers with their ſoldiers, the magiſtrates at the head of the militia, and one hundred and fifty Indians, immediately appeared there in order of battle. The governor then made his appearance; and, followed only by ſome of his principal officers went to the college; called for Don Chriſtopher Sanchez, proviſor and vicar general of the dioceſe; and conducted him to the cathedral, the doors of which were no ſooner thrown open, than it filled with perſons of both ſexes, and of every age and condition.

Don Chriſtopher, after a ſhort prayer, took a crucifix from the great altar; gave it to kiſs to the

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governor; and then took the ſeat he uſed to occupy during the vacancy of the ſee, from which he declared that he reſumed the exerciſe of all the charges, with which he had been till then inveſted, the new biſhop of Paraguay not as yet having any lawful juriſdiction. This done, he ordered all the bells to be ſet a ringing, and all the excommunication liſts to be torn down; and took off the interdict which Don Bernardin himſelf had juſt taken off, as, finding it impoſſible to eſcape this blow, he thought he might make a merit of his pretended indulgence in the eyes of the publick.

THE governor's edict further imported, that as it was notorious his lordſhip Don Bernardin de Cardenas had intruded himſelf into the government of the dioceſe, againſt the rules of the church, and was actually lodged in the franciſcan convent, to which he had cauſed arms to be brought, and where he had placed a garriſon; and from thence filled the city with trouble, confuſion and ſcandal, he forbid all perſons, on pain of death, to enter that convent while the prelate continued in it. The proviſor and vicar general, on his ſide, publiſhed a mandate to the ſame purpoſe, importing, beſides, that the ſaid lord biſhop was not entitled to any obedience.

NOW, at laſt, Don Bernardin perceived, that he could not hold out any longer, eſpecially as a mandate of his, lately publiſhed in one of his pariſh churches, had made little or no impreſſion on the inhabitants. He, therefore ſent word to the governor, that he could no longer prevail upon himſelf to remain in a province entirely inhabited by excommunicated perſons; and accordingly, on the 19th of November, after celebrating his two maſſes, he took leave of a great number of devout perſons whoſe conſciences he directed, telling them, that he was

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banished from his diocese, for having endeavoured, through his pastoral tenderness for his flock, to relieve the distress of several families, whose patrimony had been usurped by the enemies of the church; thereby meaning the Indians, whom the jesuits secured from the drudgery of personal service. He repeated all the injuries, with which he, on every former occasion, had loaded these pretended usurpers; he again interdicted, excommunicated, and anathematized them; giving, at the same time, notice, that there was no communicating with them without incurring the same censures; and adding, that, severe as he shewed himself towards those, who obstinately persisted in their rebellion against the church, he would always behave with the greatest compassion and tenderness towards her humble and faithful children.

He then named the churches, in which the inhabitants might enjoy the happiness of assisting at divine service; and the priests who might hear their confessions, on whom he bestowed the most magnificent encomiums, though, perhaps, he was the only person not to know, that some of them lived in a scandalous concubinage. At length, after taking leave of the great croud that attended him, all bathed in tears, and filling the church with their sighs and groans, he sallied forth, carrying the holy sacrament in a box hung to his breast, and followed by his chaplains and the rest of his clergy, every one with a lighted taper in his hand. As soon as he had got into his bark, he renewed his anathemas against the persecutors of the church, who drove out of his diocese the holiest bishop, to believe his followers, the new world had ever possessed; and thundered a new interdict against the city, to the sound of a little bell, which he usually carried with him in his journeys. The bells of the franciscan

ciſcan church, and thoſe of the epiſcopal pariſh were immediately ſet a going, according to the orders he had given for that purpoſe; and it was found impoſſible to appeaſe the tumults occaſioned by the ringing of them, otherwiſe than by ringing, at the ſame time, thoſe of all the other churches.

The prelate ſeated himſelf on a ſtool in the ſtern of his bark, having, on both ſides of him, the eccleſiaſticks and religious, who had embarked with him. The reſt of his attendants had placed themſelves at ſome diſtance; ſome ſmoaking, the reſt drinking their Paraguay; and all in very careleſs poſtures, without ſhewing the leaſt attention to the bleſſed ſacrament, which the biſhop carried about him; and, he himſelf, no doubt, ſoon took notice of it, for in ſome ſhort time, the box containing it, was no longer to be ſeen. One of his clergy has ſince aſſured, that he ſaw Don Bernardin communicate with it without leaving his place, from a perſuaſion, it is probable, that he might on this occaſion diſpenſe with a law of the church, leſt he ſhould not be able to keep his attendants within the bounds of reſpect due to the holy ſacrament of our altars.

Be that as it will, his friends wrote to Tucuman, that, the moment he aſcended his bark, ſtars had been ſeen to dart from heaven towards the church of St. Lucia, and from thence to the epiſcopal palace, behind which they diſappeared; that the earth ſhook; that rocks had been ſeen to fly to pieces, and mountains to ſtrike againſt each other; that the ſun ſeemed to diſtil blood; in ſhort, that amazement and terror had ſeized every heart. But when theſe accounts were ſent back to the Aſſumption, it was anſwered, that nothing like it had been ſeen there; that few perſons re-

gretted the biſhop, ſince he carried away with him the ſource of all that trouble and confuſion, with which the city had been almoſt perpetually agitated ever ſince he made his appearance in it.

Don Bernardin, however, now began to be more uneaſy than he cared to appear, in regard to the defects in his conſecration and induction; and it is certain, that he had been, for ſome time paſt, taking meaſures in Rome, to procure the Pope's diſpenſation with both. From the 9th of May, 1645, to the 2d of October, of the ſame year, four congregations were held upon this affair, and in them were produced letters from the biſhop, in which he deſired to be abſolved from the cenſures he might have incurred for cauſing himſelf to be conſecrated without preſenting the Pope's bulls; for having taken poſſeſſion of his biſhoprick; for having received the revenues of it; for having ordained and performed the other epiſcopal functions; all, in conſequence of the opinion of ſeveral learned men, who judged that his bulls had probably miſcarried, or had been intercepted by perſons who wiſhed him no good; and on the ſtrength of a letter from cardinal Anthony Barbarini, who gave him notice of their having been expedited, and treated him as biſhop. To theſe motives he added, the preſſing neceſſity which the dioceſe of the Aſſumption had for a biſhop.

The Pope aſſiſted at one of theſe congregations, in which it was ordered, that Don Bernardin's letters ſhould be examined in a new congregation, in the preſence of his holineſs, and that the whole affair ſhould be again maturely conſidered. The 11th of July, 1656, another congregation was held, in which Cardinal Ceſi preſented a petition addreſſed to the Pope, by which the canons of the Aſſumption, independent of the defects in the

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consecration of Don Bernardin, alledged several other grievances against him. The congregation named Cardinal Albizzi to examine and report them; and, as Don Bernardin had cited Cardinal Barbarini's letter, it was answered, that he ought to produce it. It appears that things remained pretty much in this situation till the year 1658, when Don Bernardin was absolved of his censures, and named to another bishoprick. In the mean time, we shall soon see him appear again at the Assumption, with as much confidence, as if the Pope had either declared he had never incurred any censures, or had absolved him from them.

End of the First Volume.

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